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REPORT OF THE DIRECTORS

OF

THE HIBERNIAN BANK LIMITED

Submitted to the Shareholders at their Ordinary General Meeting held on

Monday, the 31st day of July, 1922.

The Directors submit herewith the Statement of Accounts for the half-year ending 30th June, 1922.

After providing for rebate on bills, interest on deposits, and bad and doubtful debts and contingencies, the net profits for the half-year amount to ..	£50,647 13 5
To which has to be added:—	
Balance of undivided profits from last Account	12,809 9 5
	£63,457 2 10
The Directors have transferred to the Reserve Fund the sum of	£29,529 14 3
And they recommend that the balance be applied as follows, viz.:—	
In payment of a dividend for the half-year at the rate of Nine per cent. per annum (subject to deduction of Income Tax)	22,500 0 0
To next Account	11,427 8 7
	£63,457 2 10

A special profit of £60,470 5s. 9d. has been realised on Sale of Investments. The amount has been added to the Reserve Fund, which now stands at £300,000.

The sub-branches at Arva and Virginia have been converted into permanent branches, and sub-branches have been opened in Dunfanaghy, Faicarragh, and Ballinagh (Co. Cavan).

By Order of the Board,

ALFRED T. COLLINS,
General Manager.

DUBLIN, 21st July, 1922.

THE HIBERNIAN BANK LIMITED.

Dr. BALANCE SHEET, 30th JUNE, 1922. Cr.

LIABILITIES.	£ s. d.	ASSETS.	£ s. d.
To Capital, viz.:—100,000 Shares of £20 each—£2,000,000; amount paid up, £5 per Share	500,000 0 0	By Cash in hand and with Bankers ...	1,293,549 11 6
,, Reserve Fund	300,000 0 0	,, Investments, viz.:— War Loans and other Government Stocks	9,108,947 2 4
,, Deposit, Current, and other Credit Accounts, including Interest due on Deposits	15,806,946 1 11	Corporation Stocks, Railway Debenture Stocks and other Securities	294,497 4 6
,, Sundry Agents	29,547 13 2		10,702,993 18 4
,, Rebate on Bills Discounted not at maturity	10,240 5 8	,, Bills Discounted, Advances on Current Accounts, Loans, etc.	5,771,983 4 7
,, Acceptances	374 12 6	,, Sundry Agents	28,937 15 10
,, Profit and Loss Account ... £63,457 2 10		,, Bank Premises and Furniture (Head Offices and 58 Branches), written down to	176,746 10 7
Less: Transferred to Reserve Fund ... £29,529 14 3		,, Liabilities of Customers for Acceptances, as per contra ...	374 12 6
	33,927 8 7		
	16,681,036 1 10		£16,681,036 1 10

NOTE.—In the case of three Western Branches, the delivery of whose returns for 30th June has been unavoidably delayed, the figures of 20th June have been adopted.

PROFIT AND LOSS ACCOUNT for Half-year ending 30th June, 1922.

	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
To Expenses of Management, including Directors' Fees, Salaries, Pensions and Allowances, Bonuses and Grants to Staff, Rents, Rates, Repairs, Inland Revenue Taxes, and all other outlay ...	120,787 11 4	By Balance from last Account ...	12,809 9 5
,, Amount transferred to Reserve Fund	29,529 14 3	,, Gross Profits for Half-year, after providing for Rebate on Bills, Interest on Deposits, and Bad and Doubtful Debts and Contingencies	171,435 4 9
,, Dividend to be paid in August, 1922, subject to deduction of Income Tax ... ... £ s. d. 22,500 0 0			
,, Balance to next Acct. 11,427 8 7			
	33,927 8 7		
	£184,244 14 2		£184,244 14 2

AUDITOR'S REPORT.

I have obtained all the information and explanations I have required in the course of my examination in detail of the foregoing Profit and Loss Account and Balance Sheet. The figures relating to three of the Branches in the West have had to be based on the returns of the 20th June, in the absence of those of the 30th June.

I have verified the Investments. Their market value as on 30th June, 1922, is in excess of the amount at which they stand in the Balance Sheet. I have also verified the Cash and Bills in hand at the Head Office.

The Balance Sheet is, in my opinion, properly drawn up so as to exhibit a true and correct view of the state of the Company's affairs according to the best of my information and the explanations given to me, and as shown by the Books of the Company and the Certified Returns from the several Branches.

JEREMIAH BUCKLEY (KEAN & CO.),
DUBLIN, 21st July, 1922. Chartered Accountant, Auditor.

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S'iad aithreacha Chumainn Íosa a chuir Coláisde Choille Chluana na gCuas ar bun sa bhliadhain 1814, agus is iad atá i mbun na h-oibre ó shoin i leith. I lár machaire mhóir fhairsing, agus coillte thart-timcheall air, atá an Coláisde—ocht mile déag ó Chathair Baile Átha Cliath (tá níos mó ná sé céad acra talmhan ann). Tá cuid mhaith de'n áit leagtha amach i gcóir iománuíochta, peile, cricéide, tennis, agus mar sin de. Sé cuspóir na n-aithreach ná oideachas maith do thabhairt sa Laidin, sa Ghréigís, i dteangthaíb na h-Eórpa, sa Meatamatic, agus san Eolaíocht. Déantar na buachaillí d'ullmhú i gcóir na n-Ollsgoil, na gCéird Léigheannta agus na Ceannuíochta.

Tá fos Scoil Sóisear i gcóir buachaillí i n-aois ocht mbliadhna nó mar sin.

Gheobhfar gach eolas ó'n Uachtarán.

Stáisiúin an bhóthair iarainn :— { Na Saileáin. / Cill Coca.

ARTHUR GRIFFITH

BY ALICE STOPFORD GREEN, JAMES STEPHENS, ROBERT MITCHELL HENRY, P. S. O'HEGARTY.

[*We are living indeed in tragic times. The following appreciations of Mr. Arthur Griffith were already in the hands of the printers when the Irish people awoke on August* 23 *to learn that they had lost another leader. The man whose mysterious activities had baffled and eluded, during more than two years, the British forces in Ireland, whose daring exploits and hairbreadth escapes had passed into popular legend—this man has now been killed by his own countrymen, and killed within a few miles of the little farmhouse where he was born thirty-one years ago. The tragedy is too deep for words.*

How far the magnetic personality of Michael Collins had been the driving force behind the movement for Irish independence is a debatable question ; but no one can deny that his imagination, energy and courage played a decisive part in the final stages of the struggle. We have the words of his Chief, Mr. Griffith, that he was "the man who won the war." At any rate, no other Republican leader was pursued with the same relentless enmity by the British authorities, and no other Republican leader made the same appeal to the popular imagination. During the reign of terror his name became a household word to be uttered with admiration and awe, whilst he himself assumed the heroic dimensions of a Cuchulain. And to-day (August 28) *his countrymen have shown their gratitude for what he suffered and wrought in their name by giving him a funeral which, in impressive grandeur, has had no parallel in the long course of our history.*

Whether Michael Collins was more a soldier than a statesman is an academic question not easy to solve, because he proved himself to be a leader and a master in both fields. But what is not an academic question is this : How did he, lowly in origin and limited in education, carry the greatness which was so suddenly thrust upon him ? Those who were privileged to know him intimately have borne witness to the fact that he remained the same Michael Collins to the end—noble of mind and generous of heart. His dying words were : "I forgive them." He has passed into the ranks of our great dead, breathing forgiveness to his enemies, but bequeathing also to them—however reluctantly—the inevitable and unenviable immortality which always comes to the slayers of the great.—EDITOR.]

I

THE Irish (for all false charges of fickleness) know their own; and the vast congregation that on August 16th thronged the roads for over three Irish miles, solemn in their reverent immobility, proclaimed that Arthur Griffith was their own, one of the very great among Irish leaders—surpassed by none in his passion and his sacrifice. Nothing in the scene was so remarkable and moving as the people, themselves keeping their deep lines on either side with military precision, standing grave as if at prayer, the little children and babes ranged always in front, they too in the same silent awe, while the dead leader, who had never asked anything in life but to be the hardest worker of every day, passed by with his procession of mourners. Along the whole way no sound broke the stillness of sorrow and prayer.

Arthur Griffith was in truth of the people. A little man, square in build, with an outline of brow and jaw and a gait that told his imperturbable will and courage. Evidently of a race ancient beyond counting, he had survived every invasion of his country down to the last in our own day. He may never have known that in old Ireland it was not one race (however highly that was regarded) that was supposed to make the nation; it was the many peoples whom the tides had carried to the island, and there bound in a historic community fostered by the one mother-land; "and when you have looked on her she is not unlovely." In any case Griffith had the tradition in his blood, and all men of Ireland were to him of one calling and brotherhood. The passion of his soul was dedicated to the country whose skies had covered and whose mast and produce had fed his people for millenniums. Once in 1897 he was lured to South Africa, but in his heart-sickness for Ireland he was soon forced to come back to her. Other leaders have gone to England or to America. But Griffith with ancient tenacity held fast to the old soil. In the broad world he

had no other home or mission. He lived among his people, always poor to the end, never knowing or caring for comfort or sufficient clothing or sufficient food: it was no uncommon thing for him to dine on what fourpence could buy. The stubborn fibre of that strong square frame gave him great physical endurance. In one prison where food might be sent in he found that for the first time he was eating much, and for three days he sat at meals without tasting a morsel, and I am told without water. He was of the very stuff of the old Irish ascetics, who in the exultation of service forgot if they suffered pain.

In that last journey to the grave he was not more lonely than when he set out to make his first fight for Ireland. No historical account of Griffith's work can be here given; the time is too near, the scene too tumultuous, the space too short. I only venture to recall the conditions of the terrible years from 1884 to 1899 so far as to illustrate the heroic quality of his courage and the difficulties which he sprang forward to confront. The country to which he gave himself might well seem to be a dying land. It was being cleared of its people. In 1881 tenants were evicted at the rate of 50 a day: in 1882 the number was 7,000 in the first three months, and 15,000 awaiting eviction in the next quarter. From 1893 the battering-ram was in full work. In 1899 nearly 44,000 people fled from Ireland—an emigration from 4½ millions which exceeded that from the 70 millions of the German Empire. Tillage died when a generation lost 300,000 agricultural labourers. There were, Griffith noted, less able-bodied workers and more maniacs in proportion to the population than in any country in the world. As for "trade and commerce, let Diogenes light his lamp and find them."

A deep spiritual depression, moreover, had fallen on the country. After the failure of the Fenian rising in 1867, Irishmen's minds had been turned from war as a means of freedom to constitutional reform as the certain hope of civilised countries. A new enthusiasm irradiated them

when in 1884 the Reform Bill raised the Irish voters from 200,000 to 500,000, and thus gave to the mass of the Irish people their first admission to representation in the Parliament of the United Kingdom. The fall of three governments in a year marked the energy of their onset, the ardour of liberty and the violence of repression. They were soon disillusioned. However elected, 103 members against 567 availed naught in Irish affairs, nor did it matter whether they voted or not. Irish Bills were taken at or after midnight, and Irish members obtained no share in Government time. "An Irish day at Westminster," wrote Griffith in 1900, "is simply an English holiday. The British Majority romp off as soon as they know there is going to be Irish business, and only come back to vote as their Whips tell them." He drew the moral. "We want no more apologies for '98 or unconstitutional methods, and we opine they will be no further tolerated." "The era of Home Rule constitutional possibilities for Irish Nationality ended on the day Charles Stuart Parnell died"; those he left behind him will never "suffice to enkindle even a feeble spark in the ashes of the dead enthusiasm of the Eighties." "Parliamentarism became more discredited by the people, whom it had befooled for over twenty years." "When the Parliamentarians struck down Parnell they, happily, destroyed themselves."

After Parnell's death in 1891 ruin followed ruin. A Home Rule Bill was rejected in 1893-1895. A Royal Commission in 1896 reported that Ireland was overtaxed by $2\frac{3}{4}$ millions a year, and recorded that while in Great Britain the revenue per head on commodities was about half the sum of 1819, in Ireland it had doubled; the Report was simply ignored and all discussion silenced. After ever-renewed suspensions of *Habeas Corpus*, a Perpetual Crimes Act in 1887 gave to Mr. Balfour as Chief Secretary for Ireland a post of more absolute authority than any other known in the entire Empire. As the famous Parnell Commission showed, "law" for Ireland remained a mere

"course of discretion" under political judges, packed juries, police shadowing. "Resolute government" was balanced by "the killing of Home Rule with kindness"—some light railways, technical instruction, County Councils, and the like. Boards of Education, and all the other public boards continued to quench all Irish ideals and force the country into an Anglicised mould. The ruling Cabinet drew to itself new powers and old royal prerogatives, till the English Executive became legally the most powerful Government in the world.

The wild passion of English Imperialism reached its Jubilee height in 1887, while Ireland, demoralised by the total failure of constitutional appeal and by the wreck of all its parties, lay shattered in strength and bankrupt in hope. In the black gloom that followed the terrible fifteen years of 1884 to 1899 a single young man, obscure, poor, friendless, stood out to check the tide of desolation. Griffith had brought back from Africa £30. With this capital he started his challenge to the Irish people—*The United Irishman.* The attempt by Parnell to establish an independent Press advocating the cause of Ireland had died with his death. Griffith set out alone on the adventure from which he never turned back. It was the single stone in his sling. As editor he had a nominal salary of thirty shillings a week, when the funds allowed its payment. Having been trained as printer's apprentice, he could be printer as well as writer under his own editorship, with the help of a gallant youth Rooney, who was employed in a railway office all day and gave his nights to the new task, till the over-strain killed him. The work seems beyond belief. Not another man in Ireland could have planned or could have ventured on it. But Griffith's will and courage knew no faltering. After a year's toil he could write: "We promised that our task should be the elevation of the national mind, the restoration of the old ideas, the support of every cause and every movement that made for the reincarnation of the Irish nation. We shall con-

tinue to make this journal the vehicle of Irish nationality, no mere 'independence' created by British Act of Parliament, but the broad and enduring edifice for which Tone died and Davis laboured."

For the seven years that the *United Irishman* lived, in spite of seizures and suppressions and Secret Service threats, his sole object was the national revival of his people. Nothing was too great for his faith, nothing too small for his care. It was no "newspaper" he made. It was a journal meant to pour into a people starved of knowledge everything that could further national affection and loyalty. His days were spent in the National Library as a tireless student, so that not a page, not a paragraph he wrote but should bring to his people some instruction as to their land. To end the vacant desolation of villages and of the forlorn open spaces, he urged Irish games, especially hurling, as well as the old music and dancing; he founded and fostered clubs and societies of young men to commemorate great deeds of the past, to learn Irish language and history, and in the wreck of old parties to discuss their own duty to Ireland in the future. He poured out information on the value of Irish minerals and soils and woods; Irish industries were to be revived, Irish factories established, Irish products restored to use, and for all these he elaborated definite practical schemes. A list of books, in Irish and English, was prepared for village libraries. He searched out scholars, poets, historians, wits to write for him, so that modern Ireland too should not be without some glamour or interest. He reprinted important pamphlets and papers. He discovered by some means known to himself alone hidden documents of importance, the most notable of them the letters that told of Monsignor Persico's disastrous recall in 1887. His weekly letter on Continental affairs was to instruct the Irish in the foreign matters which so deeply concerned them.

Ireland, and ever Ireland, was his theme. All effort

must have its end in "the restoration of the true national ideal. . . . The people never lost it from their hearts. To the Nationalists of Ireland, and especially to the young men, the work remains of educating and organising our countrymen for the realization of that ideal." "The full measure of a nation's rights, of this nation or any other nation, is simply sovereign independence." The immediate task was to call the whole people to a National faith, and as a means to establish a sound and independent economic position, which would give them the trained men, the cohesion, and the necessary wealth for the further fight. Griffith had no timid fear of material prosperity, knowing the age-long fidelity of his own countrymen, and probably judging with other wise men that revolutions have never succeeded on a falling market. In fact economic security seemed to him a necessary step to make larger ideals possible. "If there were no oppressed tenants and no tyrannous landlords in Ireland, if evictions, absenteeism, and all poverty were unknown, the Irish struggle would still go on as long as Ireland was not the sole mistress of her own destinies."

Meanwhile no one was shut out, whatever might be their ideal way to freedom. A striking sentence in 1906 tells that "during the last couple of years no force in Ireland was striving more earnestly to save the foreign tyrants from themselves—to snatch the Home Rule brand out of the fire even though by so doing we burned our own fingers—than the *United Irishman*." An Ireland united in work would find the road to full national rights. The fury of his denunciations and sarcasm fell on the sham flag-fliers and time-servers, and above all on the surrender to Imperialism of Redmond, or any policy that finally blocked the way to the fulness of freedom in the future. In one of the first numbers of the *United Irishman* he had defined his position: Men working for Home Rule might be honest men, "but we deny the title of any man to the name of Nationalist who disbelieves in Independent Nationhood." When in course of time

new elements were drawn into the political body of Sinn Fein which he formed in 1906, he seems to have maintained the same attitude, respecting all who seriously desired and sought a way to ultimate freedom. All groups alike, whether or not he agreed with their special method of reaching that end, knew him to be a man of absolute honesty and truth.

To the young men and boys lying in the stagnant morass of that bad time his message was a trumpet summons to life. They gathered in groups, as the young followers of Davis had once done, to read round a common lamp the latest *United Irishman*, and themselves enter into the great Irish tradition. Whether they have been drawn into one side or other of the present conflict. they will tell with the same emotion how they saw in their youth the shining of the new light flashed out by Griffith in dark places. His poverty was his great disaster. But though he had no funds to carry his paper broadcast over all Ireland, and could have but a scanty audience, it was his influence that founded the modern Irish movement. Personally he made no appeal to common popularity, for his work was heavy, and it was only those who took part in it who knew him well ; but nothing, not even difference of view, shakes their affection and esteem. His eminent dignity—drawn (as I think) from a very long lineage—was a dignity that no one ever dared to defy. I doubt if any word of flattery could ever have reached his ear, for his presence allowed no folly ; nor did the unceasing sense of humour, which underlay even his gravest moments as a sort of reaction against his intense seriousness. It ran through his talk, so admirable from its range of knowledge and thinking, and the rapidity of its quips. In prison he was beloved, genial, gay, and playful. His standard of dignity never failed, and if he was reproved for a half-washed floor he turned with a hearty will to make good the task. The Castle did not share the general esteem ; three times in late years he was imprisoned ; and nothing was

more sought after for final destruction than the files of his papers. He himself called a group of journalists to inform them that secret orders from the Castle had put him first on the list to be assassinated.

The Irish are not fickle. The truth of a true man is understood among them. It did not matter to them that Arthur Griffith was like no other leader that had ever come before. The Irish nation out of the recesses of its nature has given much to the country. It has still much to give in the time to come.

ALICE STOPFORD GREEN.

II.

ALMOST all that has recently occurred in our country has had in it the urgency or the surprise of drama. We have leaped into and out of war, and into war again, almost without an interval for rest, and certainly without any opportunity for forethought or preparation. We have even whirled into freedom, and are not surprised, and seem scarcely even cognisant of it. Since 1916 the Irish nation gave up being surprised at anything that could happen, for change became the norm. We could no longer trouble to notice it, and we are the fairly contented citizens of a country whose visage is so infinitely mobile that it may be said to have no features and is only to be recognised by its pace.

And yet, for us, grown callous to variety of any kind, fate held a surprise in store, and one that could shock any Irishman to the soul. Arthur Griffith could die! Not one person believed that Arthur Griffith could die, not one speculated an instant on an event that seemed as remote as any event could seem. And, when the information stabbed up at the mind from the posters in the street, men halted almost as though the blow had been a physical one, and, resuming their paths, they went bewildered.

If he had been shot—for in these strange days specula-

tion has few limits—if that had occurred we should have raged without surprise: but his disappearance was as though he had been lifted away; as though he had been stolen under the very eyes of his people. We saw him there, in the accustomed place, and then he was not there. —We were looking at the future. We were looking at the sky, and then we looked at the pavement; and, without one moment of preparation, we saw that Arthur Griffith was dead. It seemed, for that moment, as though some fabulous necromancy had been worked on us and on Ireland; and, for a pace, who was there that did not think he would awaken and laugh at the bad tidings of a dream? —He died like a comet. Away in an instant from one horizon to the other, its passage scarcely to be seen, so from this life to that went Arthur Griffith, with such precipitate haste that none knew of his journey nor guessed at his going until he was gone.

"The true flower of the blood of the place has fallen,
The true clean-wheat of the Gael is reaped."

He had lived without any fuss, and so he died—noiselessly, uncomplainingly, undiminished. How many thousands and hundreds of thousands have gone before him whose hopes were set in the star that he had reached, and to attain which they gave their all! He had not only seen the longed-for, the despaired-of land. He had touched it and had become its national symbol. All who looked on him saw the President of Ireland, and when he looked on himself, if only in a glass, he saw the first citizen of his nation. He saw a free Ireland, which he had helped to free, and which had no more to fear except the Future, that is never fearful. The Future that is always to be hoped for, which is the eternal Spring Time in the mind of man. To him there can never come the anguish that draws at last on men and statesmen, when they discover that the times have gone beyond them and that their usefulness is at an end, for he has vanished in full activity and on the very consummation of his work.

He was, and he remains, an enigma. The future will not guess his riddle. It will not prove or disprove him. He will be measured against no other event, nor tried in any other fires than those he lived through. What were his capacities? We do not know. How would he have borne himself or grown in the exercise of power? We do not know, and we shall never know. His anonymity is impenetrable to us. He is, as he was, a name and a secret.

Perhaps, actually, his work was done. Perhaps, actually, the work of almost any man over fifty years of age in Ireland is finished. Youth is at our prow. It has taken our helm, and has resolved that its own intuitions are wiser than are the councils of those who had been wont to guide it. They will only obey their own generation; and, whether the chance be given or denied, it is they will undertake the future, and shape, for some little time, this age-long destiny. Could Arthur Griffith have withstood them? Could he have guided them? Could he have run at their pace, and still been first? He is spared trials that could have been monstrous, and we are left to guess, and to bear our own part of the future.

It is much too early to attempt a summary of what has been done by Arthur Griffith. Much contemporary smoke must blow away before we can see what has actually been the work of any single man or single group against the great background of a national awakening and of a national movement. In its last analysis we will not trace the freedom of Ireland to any one man; nor was it even England that liberated her. The whole world released us; and, in combination with that vast urge, it was the people of Ireland themselves who achieved their own liberty; as it is the people of Ireland themselves who must consolidate and preserve and extend that which they won.

It is difficult to say at what point we are masters of, and at what point we are mastered by vast, unconscious processes such as nationality and civilisation. These rule us unconsciously, and enlist us for their and not for our

own purposes. There are a few personal things a man may choose and do. He may choose his wife, but he cannot select his children, that is, his next generation; nor can he easily or wittingly choose or alter the cultural or economic life that is in being or in formation about him. Among these huge forces a man moves like a pigmy. The single effort here seems powerless, and the collective effort is expressed as much through antagonisms as through agreements. There is a common aim, but it is not visible until it has been reached and left behind. We seem to use the present moment, but, even in the present moment, the next generation is using us, without money and without price. The world-urge that is shaping a process behind the processes of statesmen and economists is the next generation, and it will direct our freight of ideals to ports we know nothing of. We may ride events, but we are ridden by an event that knows neither locality nor personality, nor anything but its own inexpressible desire.

"The counsel of God as regards Virgin Eire is at all times more wonderful than can be told."—That is all we know, and, if we believe that, it will be true. Arthur Griffith believed it. Men as different as Pearse and Connolly and MacBride believed it. But human beings do not die for a point of geography, or for a piece of universally indistinguishable clay. They die, because they are fathers and mothers at the very root of their being. They die, because the only thing that must live is the generation that is unborn, and they know that the only thing worth doing is to make a world fit to be lived in by those who come after us. Whatever processes are going forward at any moment this is the process that drives them; and whatever good deed is done at any moment in any spot of the earth becomes immediately for that purpose an universal good. It puts off locality as the spirit puts off flesh. The hero, the man of good-will, belongs to no nation. He is the international man and the world currency, and without him every word of noble

import would be a lie. Into that great company Arthur Griffith has entered. He will live in his deed. He has become a part of the world-inheritance; and Ireland, which has given so humbly and inexhaustibly of her best, can add another name to the long roll of her illustrious dead.

JAMES STEPHENS.

III.

THE death of President Griffith appears, even to a people hardened to surprises, more than a mournful surprise. It seems to be a tragedy, almost a disaster. The dead President embodied the ardour and purpose of the nation that, emerging under his guidance from the shadow in which by turns it had fought and slumbered, looked to him to guide its footsteps through an unfamiliar light. His death brings back something of the shadow in which his eager spirit first found its commanding place; but death cannot shake or dissolve the immortal purpose which made him what he was.

Twenty-five years ago Arthur Griffith was an obscure and youthful journalist, conducting an unregarded paper, preaching to an impatient congregation a weekly sermon from a forgotten text. He exhorted a nation split into parties, and looking to outside assistance for its national development, to embrace its nearest enemies and distrust the benevolence of its latest friends. He revived the trite doctrine that differences of creed and thought amongst Irishmen were less important than the fact of their common interest and their common destiny; and he insisted that under no circumstances could an English party help Ireland to be prosperous and free when the interest of England was to maintain it in weakness and subjection. This plain doctrine seemed fantastic and unreal to a generation which appeared to give to obstinacy and folly the names of principle and idealism, and to hail the authentic birth of Irish freedom in the throes of party warfare in the English constituencies. His words seemed hard and

less than just: he had no time nor indeed inclination to make necessary allowances or draw distinctions. The ways of others seemed easy and practicable and full of a gentle promise: he pointed to a rough path, leading none knew whither. Even if he were right, it was plain that his policy must be not one of several, indifferently prudent, but the one universal national policy, bound otherwise not only to fail but to be ridiculous; yet his followers were few, inconspicuous, often irrational and eccentric. With a discreet contempt for the academic discussion of forms of government, he wasted no words upon the relative merits of monarchy and republicanism; he was as content with freedom under a king as under a president. It was enough for him to persuade his countrymen to combine and in combination offer determined resistance to the exploitation by a foreign power of the material resources and moral heritage of the nation. His summons was to no spectacular and heroic battle; the fight was to be waged by the simple withdrawal of all moral acquiescence and voluntary obedience from the rulers that held the outward life of Ireland in their hands. In spite of indifference, criticism, opposition and continued defeat, he was content to bide his time, partly through sheer tenacity of spirit, partly through a wise and daring foresight, partly because his shifting audience contained new hearers from week to week, each as well worth converting as any who had gone before them. And the ultimate triumph, though only partly of his own making, would have been impossible without the infinite patience and love which forbade him to despair of his country while there remained in it even one who would listen to his words.

Arthur Griffith would himself be the first to disavow a claim to be regarded as a great statesman or a man of prophetic foresight or of a capacious and commanding intellect. But he might, and would, justly claim to have seen with unshaken certitude the one central truth of Irish politics; to have allowed no personal or private

considerations, no false or subordinate loyalties, to turn him aside from proclaiming it; to have proclaimed it with all the powers of a singularly clear, serene and forcible mind; to have done this when no other Irishman did it or could have done it one half so effectively, and at a time when Providence was preparing the one great conjuncture of affairs in which Ireland had a supreme chance of success; in a period of unexampled turmoil, when evil passions were loosed in a fury of blood and fire, amid the folly of the wise and the madness of fools, to have held upon his course unperturbed and undismayed; to have yielded where to resist was useless or indifferent, to have resisted where to yield was to fall; in all things, before the eyes of friend and foe, to have done what he thought right, and that only—these are the virtues that make his memory illustrious.

During the larger part of his public life President Griffith was known as the editor of a succession of small weekly papers devoted to the publication of the Sinn Fein policy. There hardly exists in the history of journalism another instance of such patient, passionate and consistent propaganda. From week to week he reiterated his thesis in all the varied tones of appeal, denunciation, mockery and argument. From the eyrie of his office he surveyed contemporary life in Ireland with glances of scornful vigilance. He kept his eye upon the public and their rulers and leaders, gibing and defying and exposing. Very few men in such a task would not have made themselves tiresome and ridiculous, and have brought upon their principles either hatred or contempt. What saved Arthur Griffith was his personality, stamped upon every column he wrote, his intense and vivid sense of truth. It was not that he was always wise and right, for he was often wrong and unwise: it was not that he was always just and fair, he was often hard and sometimes curiously obstinate when most manifestly in the wrong; but he had the faculty of convincing his readers of his personal honesty

and sincerity. His style was most marvellously adapted to his purpose : it was clear and sinewy and flexible, never rising to any great height of eloquence or passion, but never slovenly or vague or weak. It was the direct expression of his character ; of no wide compass, not gifted with imagination, with no great distance between its highest and its lowest points, but strong and clean, coldness encasing flame.

His great gift of discerning what was essential, and of holding to it without faltering, was well seen in the troubled times that came after the Rising. He had advocated not a policy of armed resistance to England, but a policy of national solidarity embodied in civil disobedience ; he had advocated the restoration of "the King, Lords and Commons of Ireland," not an Irish Republic. But when armed resistance came he ranged himself behind the fighting men, knowing that the resistance was essential, the form which it might take was an accident. When the Republic was proclaimed he remembered that it was to Ireland his allegiance was pledged, not to this or that form of Irish government : he accepted the Republic without reluctance then, as afterwards, when to abandon it was wise, he abandoned it without despair.

What service he might yet have rendered to Ireland none can say. It may be that a ripened wisdom would have prevailed above desperate passion and a not less desperate impatience ; or it may be that the vicissitudes of mortality would have marred the works of wisdom and goodwill. At least he has been spared sore trials and grave dangers, and he has left to his countrymen the memory of great gifts and great virtues unselfishly devoted to one great cause. R. M. Henry.

IV.

IN that final speech of his recommending the Treaty to Dail Eireann, Arthur Griffith referred to Thomas Davis as his master, and while it may be said of all Irish

Nationalists that they are influenced by Davis, it was particularly true of Griffith, inasmuch as he believed passionately, with Davis, in not alone the desirability but the practicability of a union of all Irishmen against the domination of England. He was convinced of the innate patriotism of the Protestant and Unionist class in Ireland, and was convinced that a way could be found to unite them with the Nationalists upon the broad issue. And he was steeped in the philosophy of Davis and in the teaching of Davis. In himself he was an example of that teaching, for he knew Ireland, her capacity and resources, her history, her literature, her possibilities, as Davis recommends that all Irishmen should know her; and he gave his days and his nights to Ireland with a single-mindedness and a persistence which only a conviction that was a passion could have sustained.

The tragedy of the death of Arthur Griffith is not the tragedy of work unfinished, not the tragedy of a failure. He was always concerned with getting things done rather than with any particular concrete way of doing them, and in his efforts for Ireland he was concerned rather with achieving for Ireland freedom than with achieving the triumph of any particular political formula or structure. When he said that "England must take one hand from off Ireland's throat and the other from out her pocket," he said exactly, and in its exact proportions, what he was aiming at; and at any time of his life he would have regarded any solution which gained that as an acceptable one. What he wanted was freedom for Ireland to develop on her own lines, free from outside interference, and it was that freedom, and not any particular way of embodying it, that he was concerned with.

He was one of the few Nationalists, for instance, who had any realization of the comparative value of economic freedom; and one of the things which he most persistently preached was that Ireland, by working unitedly on economic lines, could so develop her strength as to make

it impossible for England to hold her. The tragedy of his death was not the tragedy of a failure, for he had succeeded in his object and in his policy ; he had brought to Ireland a Treaty with England which made Ireland absolute master in her own house, with full economic and cultural freedom and with practically full political freedom, and which, while it had to bow to circumstances in the matter of the Six Counties of Unionist Ulster, carried in itself the certainty of an eventual Union of all Ireland. The tragedy in his death was this that he who had loved Ireland so well and so passionately, who had been poor all his life for her sake, who had in the end raised her up, should have been struck down ere he enjoyed the glory of seeing her develop, of seeing all the things he loved to plan for her grow under his protecting hand. It is a lesser tragedy than that of any other Irish National leader.

Griffith has been written of as a non-believer in physical force. That is not true. He was a physical force man, and when I first knew him he was a member of the I.R.B., which he afterwards left, not on any point about physical force, but because after he had launched the Sinn Fein Policy and established the Sinn Fein Organisation he found the I.R.B. rule, that the Supreme Council has the right to dictate a policy to the members of the Brotherhood in public organisations, irksome. He was all his life a Separatist and a physical force man of the old philosophic school, which held that physical force was permissible and necessary, that Ireland would eventually gain her independence only by means of it, but which held also that a Rising by a minority was unjustifiable save as a demonstration, a blood-sacrifice—which the Rising of 1916 actually was. And the I.R.B. never quarrelled with Griffith, but always worked with him and recognised him for what he was, the greatest Separatist force in the country. As a matter of fact, *Nationality*, which was established during the war and edited by Griffith, was financed by the I.R.B.

It was a misfortune for Ireland that, when Sinn Fein was reconstructed in 1917, the direction of it was taken out of Griffith's hands. It could not have been done had he chosen to fight against it. But he had Davis's passion for unity, provided what he regarded as essentials were preserved, and he stood down rather than have even the semblance of a split, though his credit and his reputation in the country were always far greater than his modesty and diffidence would allow him to realise; he could have carried Sinn Fein, on anything vital, at any time against anybody. But, with the best intentions, he stood down, and the direction of the movement fell into the hands of men who had no philosophical or trained or thought-out conception of nationalism, of means or of ends, and who applied to every possible candidate for Dail two tests: (1) Was he ever in jail, or was he in the Rising, or was he in the Volunteers? (2) Was he likely to be independent-minded? And if the answer to the first was "No" or to the second "Yes," he was barred. So that Dail came to be manned almost wholly by people who, when their great test came, proved to have neither moral courage nor political intelligence.

And that loss, the loss in the supreme direction of affairs of his trained and Davisized mind, which had so fatal an effect on Dail, is the loss which we are now also most keenly to feel. For Griffith was the only member of the Government who had any philosophy of Nationalism to rely upon, who was in touch with the whole stream of Irish Nationalist philosophy. In that respect he might well be likened to a grown-up man amongst children.

P. S. O'Hegarty.

THE ANATOMY OF A TRIFLER

BY STEPHEN GWYNN.

Ruth Clark: *Anthony Hamilton (Author of the Memoirs of Count de Grammont): His Life and Works and his Family.* (Lane. 1921. 21*s.*)

ANTHONY Hamilton was a high priest of that cult which Swift used to call *la bagatelle;* he did as much as any man to establish the fashion which Prior transmitted to Swift; there has been no more perfect practitioner of the light touch. Swift never attained to it, and for the excellent reason that the force in him was too great. When his nonsense seems to be nonsense, he hits too hard; these are no manners for a drawingroom. In order to entertain mixed company at a court with perfect decorum, you must not have too much personality; but a great deal of wit is needed if the entertainment can keep its savour for a considerable length of time and in different surroundings. Hamilton fulfilled these conditions, negative and positive, and Miss Ruth Clark's book helps us to form a much completer idea of him than was possible without her aid, even to a pretended student of his writings.

She has been too civil in her references to an old essay for me to be quite an impartial critic of her book: yet on the face of things it is a little droll that Grammont's brother-in-law and biographer, the courtier of Whitehall and St. Germain, should become the subject of an academic thesis. However no one would be surprised at a treatise on Boucher's painting, and an artist is not less an artist because his art was to express *la bagatelle.* Literary fashions, too, have their place in history, and Hamilton did much to bring the fable into fashion. But Miss Clark ought not to deceive herself or us; all that side of his

work is as dead as dead grasshoppers; it has not even the charm of preserved butterflies. The only thing which survives from it is a current expression relating to what Hamilton would have called gallantry, and that originates from the only episode in his Fables where his salt is a trifle coarse.

He is for us to-day the author of the *Mémoires du Comte de Grammont;* and that book is at least sufficiently alive to impart a lasting interest to its creator. One may say a little about them both; and the man must come first because writing with Hamilton was a diversion of late middle age. Later still it became a pious exercise. But the book by which he lives was written at sixty to chronicle the follies which he saw when he was twenty; his own part in them, if he had any, he omits. In between lay a long and not inactive life of which scarcely a trace can be found in any of his writings. Hamilton, whose work is a string of intimate personal details, is concerning himself the most reticent of authors. How much this man could have told of which he has told us nothing!

Perhaps that is because in his personal life he was less a man than a member of a powerful family, and he has told a good deal about his family—all of it trifling. Yet the family, and he with it, were deeply concerned in important and tragic affairs. Miss Clark's book is a biography of the Hamiltons of that ilk, rather than of Anthony Hamilton. They were, of course, sprung from a group of Scottish gentry and lesser nobles who, in the Ulster plantation, took up grants of land about Strabane and from the first were divided in religion. Sir George Hamilton, Anthony's father, son of the first Earl of Abercorn, was a Catholic, but he married the Protestant Ormonde's sister while Ormonde was still Lord Thurles. They had six sons, of whom Anthony was the third, and three daughters. Anthony was born about 1645—probably at Roscrea, for his father had acquired an estate in Tipperary, and in the wars from 1641 onwards, held important posts, through his brother-in-law's influence.

In 1651 when Ormonde left Ireland for France, Sir George Hamilton with his family followed him to Caen. Admitting that a child of six could have retained no memory of the scenes which surrounded his childhood, yet Anthony Hamilton must have heard from his father, from his mother and from Ormonde numberless details of those tragic years; but he gives no hint of them. His childhood and education spent in France made him that ambiguous and accomplished creature of which the seventeenth and eighteenth century showed so many examples, a French Irishman—or perhaps an Irish Frenchman. The Scot in him hardly counts for much: his father was born in Ireland where he spent most of his life, his mother was of very old Anglo-Irish stock. He had nothing of the Gael, old or new, his forbears were of the plantation; but Ireland was his native country. He was no more English than Sarsfield; but he was much more of a Frenchman.

At the Restoration, Sir George Hamilton, who had accompanied Charles II's roving court in all its peregrinations, naturally followed it to London. For six or seven years Anthony Hamilton's home was at Whitehall; but he was only a boy of sixteen, while his two elder brothers were showy personages at the Court; and his sister also shone there till she married Grammont, the queer adventurer, destined to be the hero of her brother's book. In 1666 the second son, George Hamilton, was dismissed from the army because of his religion and, by connivance of Charles II, transferred himself and his company to the service of France. Probably Anthony Hamilton went with him. At all events in 1671, when George Hamilton was commissioned by Louis XIV to raise a regiment in Ireland, Anthony had a commission in it and helped to raise the men. Patrick Sarsfield was among his brother officers. For some years his life was divided between soldiering during the summer on the French border, and visiting Ireland during the winter to beat up recruits. In 1676 George Hamilton was killed, and

it seems certain that Anthony Hamilton left the service soon after, probably because he was passed over for the command. Later, the deaths of his eldest brother and of his father and mother left him at the head of what family estates remained, and he was established in Dublin from 1681 onwards, with intervals during which he fled the country to avoid his creditors. But of Ireland, first or last, he has not a word to say. The life he lived there, as a soldier retired without pension, as a private gentleman of embarrassed means and as a Catholic under disabilities, cannot have been brilliant.

But on the accession of a Catholic sovereign he returned at once to his profession and secured the lieutenant-colonelcy of an infantry regiment. His younger brother, Richard, who had continued in the French service and at the French court, was now his senior in military rank, and returning to England, was made colonel of dragoons, and a year later, brigadier. Talbot, who controlled all Irish military appointments, was a kind of brother-in-law to the Hamiltons; he had married George's widow, *la belle Jennings* of the Grammont Memoirs. Miss Clark thinks that Anthony's advancement was kept back because, when Talbot's policy of altering the army's composition began to work, he set his face against the dismissal of good men and officers to be replaced by Catholics who were not so good. Clarendon, Lord Lieutenant, wrote that Anthony Hamilton knew the regiment better than the Colonel, "for he makes it his business." In short, he seems to have been a steady, conscientious regimental officer, but assuredly a bad soldier. Protestant ascendancy owes a great deal to the Hamiltons; Richard Hamilton opened the siege of Derry incompetently and finished it in defeat; Anthony Hamilton commanded the advance guard of Mountcashel's force despatched to attack Enniskillen and was routed with ignominy at Lisnaskea by the Enniskilleners, whose commander was another Hamilton—Gustavus—but a very different soldier. Anthony had his part too in the succeeding defeat of

Newtownbutler. It is not surprising that Avaux reported to Louis XIV's War Minister that the Hamiltons were hated and despised by the troops.

At the Boyne, Richard was captured, and Anthony, attached to the person of James, was away from the fighting; but so was his old brother officer, Sarsfield. He may have been in the first Siege of Limerick, but more probably was not, though he was sent to France with the news of William's repulse there. So ended, it would seem, his military career; and in 1691 he was outlawed by the Irish Parliament. Other men took service along with Sarsfield and the Wild Geese, but not the Hamiltons; from the age of forty-five onwards, Anthony was a retired soldier of small means living in the gloomy court of an exiled Stuart, which he described later as

> "*L'asile*
> *D'un ennui qui n'a point de fin*
> *Et de ce loisir inutile*
> *Qui pèse plus que le chagrin.*"

That is the nearest thing to a *cri du cœur* known to me in his writings, and he had more than a quarter of a century's experience of this "useless leisure" when he uttered it. In the first years perhaps the idleness did not weigh so heavy; but he was close on fifty when he left Limerick, and the *Mémoires de Grammont* did not begin to be written till more than ten years later. They were written, as Miss Clark lets us know, like all his Fables, verses and the rest for manuscript circulation in a small group. This audience contented Hamilton, but not his subject. Possibly Grammont was chiefly moved by the money for which he sold the manuscript to a printer; but more likely the fame was what he desired. He was approaching eighty, but had no intention of disappearing from the public eye. "Only fools die," was one of his sayings. Perhaps, as Miss Clark suggests, he saw his chance to make sure of immortality and secured the trick at once.

Certainly no author ever owed more to his theme than did Anthony Hamilton. I had never noticed till Miss Clark pointed it out how much better is the first part of the memoirs in which Grammont is perpetually on the stage than the latter and much longer portion in which he only appears from time to time, and then only by a sort of afterthought. It is as if Hamilton began by a genuine literary inspiration to reproduce and dramatise Grammont's account of scenes and adventures that passed before Hamilton had ceased to be a child, but passed in a setting which he knew well—the court of France or camps in Flanders. Here all moves with astonishing nimbleness and gaiety; there is not a superfluous line, and Grammont's rascalities are recounted with an airy zest that carries them off perfectly. His companion, Matta, helps to create the desired frame of mind in the reader, for Matta is a scamp, while Grammont is a rascal; but Matta is such a likeable scamp that he infects us with the amusement which makes him a tolerant partner in the Chevalier's calculated rascalities. All this part is work of pure creation, based no doubt on Grammont's talk. But when Grammont comes over to Whitehall, he comes without Matta and he comes into a world which Hamilton remembered; reminiscence gets mingled with creation, anecdote with constructive invention; and the whole thing goes to pieces till it becomes no better than well-written gossip, having no unity but that of tone. Its title accuses the author. So far as bulk goes, the book might be called a *Chronique Scandaleuse* of the Court of Charles II; but it is the Memoirs of the Count de Grammont, and artistically ought to show us that court only as a background for Grammont's personality. Yet the Memoirs of Grammont it is; for this personality at least stands out clear—a masterpiece of portraiture.

What a man! What an age! This professional card-sharper, for that was his profession, none the less contrived to hold his place at the foremost court in Europe, and actually to be entrusted with diplomatic errands to

the court of England. No doubt, his commission was less clear than he was pleased to make out, yet even St. Evremand, who detested him, admits that he enjoyed a special position. He had real wit; he had incredible assurance; he loved to be among great persons, and he found that the way to be respected was to be less than respectful. He had a brow-beating wit which feared no one and which everybody feared. Swift as a courtier had something of the same quality. Yet there was a sort of bonhomie in Grammont for which Swift was too savage, and I am reminded of a much more recent personage—not a card-sharper but a divine. When Grammont had at last to contemplate the possibility of dying, his Countess, Hamilton's sister, a devout partisan of Port Royal, did her best with him; but those were the days when Madame de Maintenon had set a tone of piety, and one of Grammont's friends came also with serious exhortation. "Take care, Countess," said the invalid, "or Dangeau will shuffle you out of my conversion." That has much the tone of the professor's answer to the street preacher's enquiry if he was saved. "Yes, but I don't mind telling you it was a very near thing."

And so I restore to my shelf the two tiny duodecimos which I picked up, somewhere, heaven knows how long ago, and to which Miss Clark's much more serious-looking volume has put me back. She has spent much labour on what is perhaps the anatomy of a trifler; but after all why should not a trifler be anatomised and shown in his dual personality? There was in Hamilton a serious business-like professional soldier who commanded like a bad amateur; and a trifling literary amateur who in a few chapters showed the professionals of French prose a trick which they have never abandoned; though of course it was Voltaire (he probably met Hamilton and certainly imitated him) who popularised that light supple touch, easy as a billiard player's and as difficult to perfect.

STEPHEN GWYNN.

THE DESTRUCTION OF THE PUBLIC RECORDS
The Loss to Irish History

BY HERBERT WOOD, M.R.I.A.

Deputy Keeper of the Public Records

A MALIGNANT destiny seems to have followed the preservation of the Irish Public Records for centuries. Fire and flame, carelessness and pilfering have been the contributory causes of the loss and destruction of the national archives in every land, and Irishmen have had but too frequent occasions to regret the devastation which these forces have accomplished among their own national archives. If the roots of the present lie in the past, the attempt to re-create that past is not only laudable, but an imperative necessity, if we are to understand the present. But how can that be done when the very material which is to be used for this purpose is consigned to the flames or carelessly allowed to perish ?

In the fire which broke out in St. Mary's Abbey on the 27th May, 1304, many records of the Court of Chancery perished. About the same time, a sudden descent of the native Irish from the mountains was made upon Dublin at a time when the Justiciar and his forces were away fighting in Wicklow. In this raid the Exchequer (which was situated in the present Exchequer Street), and many of the records contained there, were destroyed. In consequence, the Treasury of the Exchequer was brought within the walls of the city. About two centuries later the records of the earldom of March and lordship

of Connaught, kept at Trim, were embezzled (*See* Statutes, 10 Hen. VIII, c. 15). In 1537 it was found that the keepers of the records in the Castle were so lax in regard to their trust that they embezzled or suffered to be embezzled the records committed to their charge, and special arrangements were made for their safe custody in the Birmingham Tower.

But the story was always the same. The archives continued to disappear, notwithstanding the efforts to preserve them. The fire which broke out in the Custom House in 1711 consumed many of the records of the Privy Council, which were housed in that building. This event stirred up the national conscience, and Parliament passed votes several times for providing a secure building, but nothing was done. About 1758 a fire broke out in the Birmingham Tower by which many of the Plea Rolls of the reigns of James I and Charles I were burnt. But all the returns made to Parliament in the eighteenth century on the subject of the records, and the returns made to the Record Commissioners at the beginning of the nineteenth century, shew that many of them were so insecurely kept, mostly in private houses, that one is surprised that anything has survived. At last, in 1867, a Public Record Act was passed, and a public building was erected in which to store most of the Irish Public Records for the future. The idea of centralising all the archives and of having an official staff trained to read the old documents in their Court and Chancery styles of handwriting was excellent. The officers were imbued with a sense of responsibility, and the safety of the records was secured by very stringent rules. But the very centralisation of the documents has proved their undoing, and at one blow the records of centuries have passed into oblivion.

In endeavouring to see what the effect of the destruction of the Public Records will be on Irish History, I shall treat the subject from the legal, administrative,

legislative, ecclesiastical and genealogical points of view, and in trying to arrive at some estimate of the loss under these several heads, I shall omit any reference to those records which, as in the case of the Fiants of Elizabeth, have been so well calendered and printed that the loss of the originals is not of so great importance. If it had been possible to do more work of this kind in the past, the destruction of the manuscripts, though deplorable, would not have been so disastrous.

Legal Records

The effect on the history of this country of the loss of the enormous bulk of legal records, those of the King's Bench, Common Pleas, Exchequer and the equity courts of Chancery and Exchequer, together with those of the local Jurisdictions of Assizes and Quarter Sessions is very serious. It is true that there was a great deal of matter, such as civil actions in ejectment, with their fictitious John Does and Richard Roes, which cannot be regarded as a great loss; but in other respects the loss is irreparable. The development of the judicial system in this country in the middle ages has not been scientifically treated up to the present, and the material for such knowledge has now disappeared. Although the judicial system in Ireland was largely imported from England, yet the customary law here was in many respects different, such as the law of dower. The old Plea Rolls were invaluable for such research, and Judge Johnston in a recent article on the early state of the law in Ireland, contributed to the *Law Quarterly Review*, found most of his material in the Calendars of the Justiciary Rolls. There are numerous points still waiting to be cleared up, such as when did the equity jurisdiction of the Court of Exchequer commence, and why? What was the legal authority of the Chief Governor and Council? and many others which the old Rolls would have probably helped to settle.

From a purely historical point of view, the Plea Rolls

contained much interesting matter. During the reign of Edward II people were indicted for taking part in Bruce's invasion, and the pleadings contain useful material for the historian. The actions brought by the Italian merchants trading in Ireland against monasteries for not repaying loans, and actions in which the military orders of Templars and Hospitallers were concerned, were to be found in these Rolls, and the history of the Franciscan Order in Ireland, recently published, contains much information, the result of researches in these old manuscripts. The frequent State Trials, the indictments for taking part in the rebellions of 1641 and 1689, the trials of priests for infraction of the Penal Laws, prosecutions of recusants, etc., are all gone. With respect to the trials of priests, the Plea Rolls have been frequently consulted in connection with the Cause of the Irish martyrs. Sir John Davies in his *Discovery* had search made amongst the old Rolls in the Birmingham Tower and based many of his arguments on the matter which was found there.

Most people, too, are hardly conscious of how much social history can be extracted from legal records. In a Plea Roll of Edward II there is a case brought by the abbot of St. Mary's, Cashel, against some burgesses of the town for not supplying to the convent the portion of ale brewed by them, to which he claimed the convent was entitled. Several old deeds are set out at length, and incidentally the cause of the building of the Alms House there is mentioned. It would appear that Marianus, the archbishop of Cashel, had one David le Latymer, knight, as his seneschal. This David had a house adjoining that of the Friars Preachers at Cashel, and had a well-favoured daughter who had an immoderate detestation of lepers. One day it happened that the mother of the girl handed her some bread to carry to those outside who sought alms, and she, issuing forth, saw one seeking alms who was a leper; whereupon she cast the bread into a pool

and hastily retreated. The leper, seeing this, said to the girl: "I pray God that you may suffer as great need before the year is over as I am suffering," and in a short time she was stricken with leprosy. Whereupon her father, greatly grieving for his daughter, built there a house for the poor and infirm in which there should be fourteen beds for the poor. Items of social interest of this kind, scattered through the old legal Rolls, make our regret all the keener that they have not already been garnered.

Administrative Records

Under this head, the Patent and Close Rolls take a foremost place. Dating from the end of the reign of Edward I, they contain a vast amount of information about grants of land and offices, statutes, charters, King's Letters, Orders in Council, treaties of peace between the Lord Deputy and the Irish Chiefs, deeds and other matters of a miscellaneous character which passed the Great Seal and were required to be enrolled. It is true that we have printed Calendars of the earlier years and manuscript Calendars of more recent times; but, as every research student knows, they are but a poor substitute for the originals. The printed Calendars made under the directions of the Record Commissioners, and by Morrin, contain a large percentage of errors, chiefly in the place names, which are often quite unrecognisable, probably through lack of a knowledge of Irish. Indeed, in the interest of historical study, the re-calendaring of these Rolls should have been and would have been undertaken as soon as circumstances permitted; but now we must make the best use of what we have, errors included.

After the Patent Rolls in usefulness comes the great series of Revenue Rolls of the Exchequer, whose loss we have to deplore. The Pipe Rolls, dating from the 13 Hen. III, contained entries of the accounts of receipts and arrears of sheriffs of counties, seneschals of liberties and bailiffs of cities, of both certain and casual revenue

coming into their hands ; of escheators, guardians of royal manors or those in the King's hand ; of collectors of customs ; accounts of expenses for expeditions of war, provisions for the army, fortifications and works, etc. Here again it is true that Calendars have been printed in the Deputy Keeper's Reports up to the 15 Edward III, and those of a few more years are in manuscript. They give a good idea of the mass of detail comprised in the Pipe Rolls ; but, as they are often only a guide to the originals, they whet an appetite which unfortunately cannot now be satisfied. How tantalising are such entries as this : "Account of William de Meones . . . These accounts are extremely interesting ; they show what were the principal articles of food at the time, their prices, the places whence obtained and the steps taken to provide commissariats for armies and garrisons.[1]" If we only had these details, what a gain it would have been for the economic history of Ireland ! Later on we find this entry, "Account of Philip de Stauntone, Clerk of the King . . . Payments in connection with bringing up the troops from Connaught, and to the different chief men with their special following . . . This account is very interesting, as showing how men were recruited at this time and where the Government obtained its soldiers.[2]" Would not Irish history be the richer, if we could but recover this account ?

After the Pipe Rolls come the Memoranda Rolls dating from the 31 Ed. I. They were made up by the Chief and Treasurer's Remembrancers of the Exchequer, and contained much valuable information which it was desirable to put on record in the interests of the Treasury, such as statements of accounts, inquisitions, grants of land, offices, commissions, petitions, fines, informations, royal writs, deeds, charters, and much matter concerning land tenures and genealogy. The Calendars of some of these,

[1] Deputy Keepers' 38th Report, Appendix II. Pipe Roll, 25 Ed. I.
[2] Deputy Keeper's 39th Report, p. 34. Pipe Roll, 3 Edward II.

made by the Record Commissioners, and Mr. James Ferguson's Repertories, have been saved ; but an enormous amount of useful information has perished. I might mention, as an instance of the utility of these Memoranda Rolls, the case of the chronology of the Chief Governors of Ireland. At present it is in a state of chaos, some writers having used the Julian Calendar and others the Gregorian, several Governors being included who never acted as such, and others being mentioned as acting months before they took office. The writers concluded because they found the appointment of a Chief Governor on the Patent Rolls for a certain date, that he was acting from that date. As a matter of fact some did not take office for months after their appointment. Now the Memoranda Rolls contained a great number of administrative writs, witnessed or "tested" by the Governors in Dublin, and by this means it has been found possible to check or correct the statements about them made by Ware, Gilbert, and others. For instance, Sir John Gilbert, in his *Viceroys*, on the strength of the Laud MS., states that in 1349 John, baron of Carew, was Chief Governor of Ireland. On referring to the Memoranda Roll of that period, however, I found him performing administrative acts merely as *deputy* to the Chief Governor, who was Walter de Bermingham. I have been able, by the aid of these Rolls, to establish the chronology of the Governors and their deputies in a more satisfactory manner than would have been possible by any other means that I know of.

Both the Chancery and Exchequer Inquisitions *post mortem* and on attainder, to find the King's title to the lands, have to a certain extent been calendared by the Record Commissioners, and have been printed or are in manuscript ; but these Calendars are imperfect, omitting many of the most difficult, and also being full of errors in place names. The Exchequer collection contained very many taken on the dissolution of the monasteries, in which all their possessions in land were fully set out.

The economic history of Ireland has suffered a great loss through the destruction of the Collectors' Accounts dating from 1649, which were the accounts of the receipts and disbursements returned by the collectors of the revenue in the different districts to the Commissioners. They included receipts from Quit and Crown Rents, Customs, Excise, Hearthmoney, etc. Every collector acted as a government banker, not only collecting the revenue but making such payments out of the money in hand as the Government required him to make in his district. The Irish Treasury kept a very detailed account of all its payments and receipts. The series of Payment and Receipt Rolls from 1545 and the Payment and Receipt Books gave an almost unbroken statement of the public accounts down to 1822, when the offices of the Auditor General and the Clerk of the Pells were abolished.

The upheavals occasioned by the rebellions of 1641 and 1689, followed by the Act of Settlement and the Trustees Acts respectively, and the confiscations consequent thereon have never been systematically examined, and the material for such has now gone for ever. Nine volumes containing transcripts of official documents and other State Papers, mostly relating to the Acts of Settlement and Explanation and to proceedings under those Acts, have probably perished, and with them the Rolls of Adventurers' Certificates, Innocents and Connaught Certificates. The records of the Loughrea Commissioners perished long ago. The surviving volumes of Transplanters' Certificates, giving the names, ages and descriptions of the persons to be transplanted into Connaught from the provinces of Munster and Leinster with their families, tenants and crops, have shared the same fate. So too, the indictments of those who were implicated in the rebellions and the surveys taken on the property forfeited. It is hardly likely that Petty's Parish Maps of the Down Survey have survived; but

the baronial maps in the possession of the Marquis of Lansdowne and the copies in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris will supply most of the information. The loss, however, of the Desmond Survey of 1586 it would be difficult to overestimate.

In 1711 the Custom House was burnt, and as the Council Office was located in that building, many of the books and papers of that office were consumed. Fortunately many of the books for the Commonwealth period escaped destruction. They contained not only the Orders and Minutes of the Council, Commissions and Instructions and Domestic Correspondence, but also a list of the Catholic Inhabitants of Cork, 1654-5, Examinations concerning Delinquent Proprietors of the Precinct of Athlone, 1654, and other books of an interesting nature. Mr. Prendergast found in these books much of the material for his *Cromwellian Settlement*. They were then in a dilapidated condition, but were re-bound in 1869. Since then Mr. Dunlop in his *Ireland under the Commonwealth*, Dr. St. John Seymour in his *Puritans in Ireland* and others have availed themselves of the historical matter contained in them; but it is safe to say that not a tithe of the contents of this collection has been printed. Now the salvage from the fire of 1711 has been consumed in the destruction of the Four Courts in 1922.

Naturally a great deal of the administrative records transferred to the Public Record Office came from the Chief Secretary's Office and the State Paper Office which was formed in 1702 to keep copies or duplicates of books of entries wherein any King's or Queen's Letters, warrants, orders and letters belonging to the Secretaries' Offices were to be preserved. Such a proceeding was rendered necessary by the fact that Lords Lieutenant were in the habit of taking away with them, on their departure from Office, all their official documents. This collection included Civil Affairs Entry Books, 1697-1823, containing warrants of the Lord Lieutenant in civil administration matters,

Civil Petition Entry Books, 1697-1833; Country Letter Books, 1701-1827, containing entries of letters from the Government to civil and military functionaries, and embracing such varied matter as enlistment for foreign service, quarantine, transportation, outrages, piracy, rapparees and tories, priests, courts martial, French privateers, landing of Scottish rebels, and anything upon which the Government had to correspond with its officials throughout the country; and a vast mass of Departmental Correspondence received from 1683-1759 from the Lord Lieutenant, when in England, and from various departments in England, of which Sir Bernard Burke said that many, though written on public affairs, had the character of private correspondence, for they dealt fully as much with the ordinary circumstances of the day as with public business. Other items of this collection were Departmental Letters and Official Papers, 1760-1831, being a continuation of the above; Letter Books (Private Official), 1696-1789, being entries of correspondence between the Government in Ireland and Secretaries of State, etc., in England, some of which was of a confidential nature; Revenue Books and correspondence; Constabulary and Police Papers, also those of the Convict Department, and many other valuable records. Also a large degree of control over the army was vested in the Lord Lieutenant, and many military matters passed through the Chief Secretary's Office. This large military collection has been very extensively used by writers of military histories. It embraced not only records of the ordinary regiments of the line, but also of Fencible and Foreign Legions employed in Ireland and of the Militia and Yeomanry. Fortunately, most of the State Papers of the nineteenth century had not been transferred to the Public Record Office.

The records of the Clerks of the Crown and Peace of the various counties of Ireland, apart from the criminal and civil business of Assizes and Quarter Sessions, con-

tained all the fiscal business of the Grand Juries with the items of expenditure on roads, hospitals, &c., of each county. Being mostly deposited at the top of the Record building, they have probably been dispersed by the force of the explosion in fragments around the city.

I have only been able to point out the chief classes of the administrative records which would have contributed valuable material for the student of history; but it is sufficient to give some idea of the loss which has been suffered.

Legislative Records.

The loss of the Parliamentary collection, though great, is not so severe as it might have been, as all the Journals of the Houses of Lords and Commons of Ireland have been printed, together with numerous reports made to those Houses. But we have to deplore the loss of the Minute Books, which contained more detail than the Journals, and also the Committee Books and papers which contained the evidence taken before the Committees. The bills and heads of bills rejected or dropped are almost as good material for history as the bills which were passed, and all we now possess of them is an index to their titles. As to the Acts, the Statute Rolls have been published up to 12 Edward IV by Dr. Berry, and the transcripts up to 8 Hen. VII have been saved; but, after that, we have only the printed volumes of Statutes which are to be found in any big library. These, however, only contain the Statutes in force at the time the volumes were printed, so that it will be impossible to discover the clauses of many Acts which for that reason were not printed. The numerous Returns which were made in response to orders of Parliament contained important matter such as those made of Protestants and Roman Catholics in 1766, many of which contain a complete list of heads of families in each parish; of trade and manufactures; of registered Catholic clergy, public buildings, navigation, and other returns. And lastly, under this head, though they have no historical

bearing, the magnificent series of Lords' and Commons' Journals in manuscript, embellished with bindings which for wealth of ornament and beauty of design were unequalled either in Great Britain or on the Continent of Europe, cannot possibly have escaped the intense heat of the fire.

ECCLESIASTICAL RECORDS.

As far as this class of records in the Public Record Office is concerned, there is no doubt but that those belonging to the late Established Church have suffered most severely. Before the passing of the Probate Act (20 and 21 Vic., c. 79) in 1857 and the establishment of the Probate Court, the granting of probates of wills and administrations throughout Ireland was confined to the Consistorial Courts of the various dioceses, and to the Prerogative Court under the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Armagh, who delegated his powers to a Judge or Commissary. After the establishment of the Public Record Office, all these wills and grants of administration dating back to 1536 were transferred there. They were many thousand in number. These Courts also had the power of granting marriage licences, and the loss to genealogical searchers is incalculable. I shall treat of these later on ; but, in addition to the above, the *voluntary* jurisdiction of these Courts comprised institutions and collations to livings, conservation of churches and churchyards, the granting of faculties for building and altering glebe houses and churches, of licences for curates, schoolmasters, &c., which were all exceedingly useful for the compilation of histories of the dioceses and parishes of the late Established Church. All the deeds and papers relating to the Church property in the various registries were handed over to the Commissioners of Church Temporalities in Ireland in 1871, and were ultimately deposited in the Record Office. Most of these instruments were registered in Diocesan Registry Books, which have suffered the same fate as the originals. Maps and

Terriers, Visitation Books, ancient original deeds, Chapter Books, and much other ecclesiastical matter have perished.

The Archbishop of Dublin was a powerful territorial magnate in the past. The Liberty of Saint Sepulchre was granted by John, when he was Lord of Ireland, to John Comyn, Archbishop of Dublin, and comprised the manor of Saint Sepulchre in the county and city of Dublin; the manors of Tallaght, Rathcoole or Clondalkin, Shankill, Swords (including Lusk, Clonmelkin, and Rush) and Finglass, in county Dublin; the manor of Ballymore Eustace in county Kildare, and that of Castlekevin, in county Wicklow. He had complete power of life and death over his subjects, as they may be called, and regulated all matters, from murder down to the weights and measures of bread, wine and beer, in his Liberty by means of his seneschals, coroners, bailiffs, and other officers. The records of this Liberty are most probably all consumed, with its Court Books commencing in 1662, its Court Leet Roll of 1619, its inquisitions from 1659, its Plea Rolls, and especially its Presentment records from 1664 containing many lists of inhabitants.

In the Revenue collection of the Court of Exchequer there were some fine rolls of the chattels and lands of the monasteries, giving accounts of the sums realised by their sale; and in Chancery a very large number of Catholic Oath Rolls from 1778-1853, whilst returns of Catholic clergy were to be found in two or three collections.

Genealogical Records.

The genealogical side of history, though not so important from a national point of view as other aspects of this science, yet to searchers for biographical matter and family history has a remarkable interest. I have accordingly grouped together here a number of classes of records the loss of which will deprive many people of material which is most necessary for them in tracing the history of their families.

To such searchers the vast body of wills and grants of administration was of vital importance. The wills especially gave much assistance, as the members of the family are usually enumerated with the bequests made to them, whilst the grants of administration are mostly made to next-of-kin. Thus, an enormous amount of information was at hand to trace a pedigree. From the eighteenth century backwards, however, the Revenue authorities do not appear to have been as keen in exacting probate duties as they are at present, and thus frequently the goods and chattels of a deceased person passed to others without any will being made. Notwithstanding this, many wills were made, and the loss of a collection extending over three centuries is greatly to be deplored. The wills did not, however, solve the whole difficulty for the genealogist, as the mother was only referred to by her Christian name, and there was usually no reference to her maiden name. Here the large body of Marriage Licence Grant Books and Bonds came to his assistance. These were most useful as giving the mother's maiden name, and thus enabling the genealogist to trace the maternal side of the family.

If the Parish Registers had been well kept, they would have been almost as useful as the wills. Nearly all those in the Record Office were registers belonging to the late Established Church. They were fairly well kept in the nineteenth century; but those of many parishes before that period were either not kept or have disappeared. When the Church was disestablished, an Act was passed in 1875 (38 & 39 Vic., c. 59) bringing all its registers before 1870 under the control of the Master of the Rolls. By an amending Act of the next year, all these parishes which had or would provide secure repositories for their registers were allowed to keep them, whilst the rest were to be transferred to the Record Office. The result of the above legislation has been that the registers of about 650 parishes in Ireland which were transferred,

have been most probably consumed by fire, whilst those which remained in their own parochial custody are safe. As some of the registers dated back to the seventeenth century, the loss to the genealogist can easily be imagined.

To the inquirer into a family history, the mere note of the existence of a member of the family is useful. Thus, the population returns of Ireland have been very frequently consulted. Probably the earliest return of this kind is the Poll Tax Return (wrongly called "Census Return of 1659"), a copy of which is in the Royal Irish Academy; but following this very quickly we had the Hearth Money Rolls, containing the name of the owner of every house with a hearth and the amount paid. These were entered on parchment rolls for about the period 1662-70, since when hardly any of these returns have been preserved. Although many probably evaded the tax, yet the enormous number of people whose names are recorded made these rolls very precious. There was also in the Record Office an Applotment Book for Dublin (1680-86), setting out, street by street, all the taxpayers, with the amount paid by them for city purposes. Coming down to the eighteenth century, by an order of Parliament in 1766, every incumbent was obliged to make a return of the number of Protestants and Roman Catholics in his parish. Many of them set out the heads of families in their parishes by name, thus forming an invaluable record of the time. I am glad to say that a few of these have been saved. Several years later, in 1798, the Rev. James Whitelaw and his assistants drew up a private census of the heads of households in Dublin, made from the lists posted up on every house by order of the police. Mr. Strickland found this return invaluable in his researches for the Georgian Society.

But so far none of these returns can be dignified with the title of Census Returns such as we are now accustomed to understand by that term. The first real Census taken, or attempted to be taken, in Ireland was in 1813 (by 52 Geo.

III, c. 133); but it was so badly executed that a further Act was passed (55 Geo. III, c. 120) for a new Census to be taken in the year 1821. Only a very few volumes of these returns have been saved. This Census of 1821, together with those of 1841 and 1851, was a priceless heritage for the present and the future.

Much material, too, for this kind of history was to be found in the Bills and Answers of the Courts of Chancery and Equity Exchequer. The Equity cases which came before these Courts included many instances of family feuds, and a great deal of genealogical information could be gathered from them. As an instance of the utility of these Bills for historical purposes, I find in *The Poems of Egan O'Rahilly* (Irish Text Society, Vol. III.) that the Editors give, in an Appendix, copies of some Wills and Exchequer Bills, or portions of them, as being documents illustrating, in a striking manner, several of the most important poems in the volume. Indeed, they were mines of information which were only explored by a few.

In the foregoing sketch of the material for Irish history deposited in the Record Office, which has probably perished in the recent explosion and fire in the Four Courts, I have merely indicated the principal classes of documents which have been so affected. In stating that the records which I have set out above have probably perished, I have come to that conclusion from an inspection of the ruins. An odd Plea Roll or Parish Register may have survived, but I am confident that the great bulk of the Irish Public Records has gone for ever. We can, however, feel a certain satisfaction in the knowledge that some of the research work which has been going on amongst them for the last fifty years has found a place in printed books or the Journals of our learned societies; but the loss of the originals will ever be a source of sorrow to the Irish historian.

HERBERT WOOD.

WALTER RATHENAU

BY JOHN RYAN, S.J., M.A.

ONCE again the assassin's bullet has done its cowardly work, and another of Germany's most brilliant sons lies in a premature grave.[1] Time need not be spent in describing the awful deed. Rathenau was accustomed to motor each morning from his house in the suburbs to the Foreign Office in Berlin. On the morning of June 24th he left home at the usual hour; four minutes later the car returned bearing its owner's corpse. It was an open secret that Rathenau's life had long been threatened by political opponents of extreme national views, and investigations have proved that the murder was committed by these as an act of political vengeance. The actual perpetrators were discovered and met death—one from a policeman's rifle, one by suicide—rather than submit to arrest.

Walter Rathenau deserved a kindlier fate. Born on September 29th, 1867, it was his fortune to have as father one of the great industrial geniuses of the new Germany. The latter, strangely enough for a Jew, had abandoned the bank for the factory, and had won for himself a commanding position in the world of electricity. Of his talent and achievement as a captain of industry we shall have more to say presently. Education in the wider sense had been denied him owing to the comparative poverty in which his early years had been spent; but his son was destined to have no such obstacle to progress placed in his path. At the completion of his college

[1] [For an article on Erzberger, by the same writer, see our issue of Dec. 1921.—Editor].

course, he passed on to the universities of Strassburg and Berlin, where he studied mathematics, physics, chemistry and engineering, and took out his doctor's degree. His vocation as yet hung in the balance, and for some time it looked as if he would consecrate his life definitely to painting. The older Rathenau, who knew nothing of the arts save that many who cultivated them died of starvation in an attic, regarded this course with the deepest misgiving. He appealed to his son with arguments in which paternal affection and pounds, shillings and pence were rather promiscuously blended. The son listened with that almost exaggerated reverence and love which he ever cherished towards his parent, and felt by degrees that his father's wishes could not be gainsaid. Walter Rathenau was won to a career of industrialism.

Yet not absolutely and irrevocably won, for Rathenau's heart was never tied to those material things in which his father took exclusive interest. Indeed, for all the mutual understanding which existed between the two and which enabled them to work for two decades in perfect harmony, it is hard to see what father and son had in common. Business capacity of the first order is perhaps the only point in which the two can be compared; after that all is contrast. The elder Rathenau was 45 before he found his *métier* as a great industrialist; till then he had lived in lower bourgeois conditions, and had acquired the habits which are characteristic of that class. His life was that of a galley-slave chained to his work; his eye was blind to all the world had to offer beyond economic openings and rich commercial advantages. Long after he had become a millionaire, he continued to live in a small house near his office, dining each day in a neighbouring restaurant for the modest sum of sixpence. He knew little of the conveniences and nothing of the luxuries of life, and his general attitude towards money may be judged from the sarcastic remark of a friend that for him money ended with three marks and began again with three millions.

Very different indeed was the personality of Walter Rathenau. He managed, it is true, the vast family business with consummate skill; but his interest in it seemed hardly to extend beyond office-hours. In a beautiful villa far out in the suburbs he lived like a scholarly professor or an opulent and cultured artist. He was a friend of the Muses. He read and enjoyed the great poets, ancient and modern, for he was a fine linguist; he had a savour for what was best in the world's prose; he practised music; he harried his mind with the speculations of the philosophers and sought solutions himself for life's most difficult problems. Gradually he came to cherish a deep, almost passionate, love for humanity. Like a generous physician he tried to diagnose the world's ills, and to prescribe for them infallible remedies. Seen in these surroundings, it was hard to imagine that he had ever donned an overall or ever gazed beneath the cover of a ledger.

Yet it was in the grimy, smoky industrial world outside that Rathenau had achieved his greatest success. As soon as he had settled in his career he applied himself to work with extraordinary energy, at first in the humble capacity of technical worker in an aluminium factory. Here he was fortunate enough to discover a method for obtaining chlorine, and with his father's aid he established electro-chemical works at Bitterfeld, near Leipzig, for the exploitation of the invention. New successes and patents for the production of ferro-silicon, soda, magnesium, and other materials soon followed. The old Jew insisted that the worth of his son should be proved beyond cavil before he dare present himself at the Holy of Holies, and it was only after seven years of unbroken progress as independent manager of these works that Walter Rathenau was allowed to join his father's firm, the A. E. G. (Allgemeine Electrizitäts-Gesellschaft—General Electricity Co.)

The company was just then crying its first halt after twenty years of phenomenal growth. Its history, con-

nected from first to last with Emil Rathenau, is one of the industrial romances of the reign of Wilhelm II. Rathenau had originally tried his fortune as a builder of various types of steam-driven machines; but, though fairly successful, he had found the work unsuited to his tastes and abandoned it after some years. It is interesting to note that he was the first to conceive the idea of steam heating railway carriages, and that the first plants for such heating were installed by him. After his retirement came years of unrest, whiled away in aimless journeys with his family abroad. A chance visit to the World Exhibition at Philadelphia in 1876 brought this period of wandering to an end; for there Emil Rathenau had seen, with the instinct of genius, the great development of which electricity was capable. He returned home at once, and after endless negotiations with the Postmaster-General in Berlin, was commissioned to build a telephone. It was the first Germany had seen. Within the next two years he had established over 1,000 telephonic connections, and won a certain prominence for his name; but the success was not up to his expectations, and he again abandoned the work.

Shortly afterwards, at an Exhibition in Paris, he saw the first incandescent electric lamp, an invention of Edison, and felt that he had at last found a field in which his life could profitably be spent. With all possible speed he arranged with the American inventor for the exploitation of the work in Germany, borrowed money and started works. Things went well for two years, when, without a moment's warning, the enterprise was brought to the brink of ruin by interference from the capitalists who had advanced the money. Rathenau got a fright from which he never recovered, and made it thenceforth a basic principle of his firm that it should do its own banking. As soon as stability was restored, he established an Electrobank at Zürich and worked himself free of the capitalists, who from that time forward were often his

debtors, never his creditors. The banking experiment was a success, and was repeated later in various foreign countries when the interests of the firm had become world-wide. Edison soon after visited the works and declared the plant excellent. The company now took definite form as the A. E. G.

Not until the Exhibition of 1891 at Frankfurt-on-the-Main did the firm begin to expand on a colossal scale. Seldom has an exhibition taken place at which greater excitement prevailed; for the visitors found themselves unexpectedly face to face with an event of historic import. A current of 20,000 volts had been brought from a power-station on the Neckar, 115 miles away, and as part of its activity lighted over 1,000 lamps in the town. The idea of conducting a high current over a long distance with safety had been suggested a decade before and had been carefully considered by the experts; but the almost unanimous conclusion was that the proposal was an impossibility. This practical proof to the contrary was a tremendous triumph for the company's engineer, and incidentally opened a new chapter in the history of electricity.

Orders for the building of central power-stations began to pour in from all over Germany and from many places abroad. The industrial mind began to busy itself in a new direction, and it was not long until the great manufacturer, Stinnes, who saw that the future was with electricity, had started works of his own for the Rhineland and Westphalia. This is the only place where Rathenau found himself confronted with a genius equal to his own, and he had perforce to relinquish the monopoly in that territory to his remarkable rival. Elsewhere his supremacy was uncontested. Branches of the A. E. G. were opened in Strassburg, Madrid, Seville, Barcelona, Russia, Japan, Chile, the Philippine Islands, the Canary Islands and other important centres. By 1900 the company had 300 stations all over the world.

Astounding indeed was Rathenau's success, and yet

he was ever haunted by the fear that he was but living through those hours of abnormal heat which precede the thunderstorm. The time would surely come when the heavens would let loose their fury upon the earth, and bring many a fine business to a sudden and disastrous end! Would the A. E. G. be among the number? He tried to assure that it would not by laying aside year by year enormous sums as a silent reserve. The ordinary dividend was 14 per cent., so that the shareholders raised no insuperable objections. In many quarters the measure was laughed at as the mean mania of a too wily Jew; but time was to justify the old man's precautions. The storm he had foreseen broke with terrible violence over the electrical world in 1900 and the following years. Hundreds of firms in all countries went bankrupt. In Germany the Rathenau company stood unshaken on the solid rock of its reserves; all the others, with one exception, went under or escaped extinction only by hastily attaching themselves to the A. E. G.

Thus was opportunity offered for embarking on a new policy, that of transforming the company into a gigantic trust on the American model; and this policy was pursued during the following years. Already existing works for the production of dynamos, Diesel-motors, carriages, wire and cable, rolled brass, aluminium, porcelain, paper and rubber, as well as works for the manufacture of fittings in infinite variety were acquired by the company until it had absolute control of everything directly or indirectly required in the electrical trade. In 1910 the company had a capital of 100,000,000 marks, and employed 60,000 hands. The Newcastle coal territory in England and large tracts of South Africa had come within its sphere of operations.

Meanwhile Walter Rathenau had been looking after the firm's affairs in Manchester, Amsterdam, Buenos Aires and Baku. Later he took over the direction of the Electrobank at Zürich, and assisted his father in completing

the concentration of the company into a great trust. At the request of the Chancellor, Prince Bülow, he accompanied the Colonial Minister, Herr Dernburg, on his visit to the German and English Colonies in Africa in 1908, thus adding to his already extensive knowledge of men and affairs. When his father died in 1915, he naturally succeeded as chairman of the A. E. G. The company, under his direction, survived and even grew during the war, and immediately after the cessation of hostilities was able to resume its overseas trade. In 1921, despite the laying aside of heavy reserves according to the time-honoured Rathenau tradition, it paid a dividend of 16 per cent. The capital was gradually increased to 850, and quite lately to 1,100 million marks, and the company had thus the distinction of being the first in Germany to pass the milliard boundary. Rathenau repeatedly expressed his conviction that the days of steam were numbered, that the hour was not far off when the electric current would everywhere succeed coal. He saw clearly that the substitution of electricity for coal in the railways of all countries is now but a matter of time. In Germany, indeed, the work of harnessing the rivers to supply electrical energy has gone forward with giant strides. In South Bavaria the Isar and Lech, in North Bavaria the Main and Danube are being utilised ; in Würtemberg the Neckar ; in Baden the Upper Rhine ; in Prussia the Upper Weser. Preparations for further progress on a huge scale had been made by the A. E. G.

Great as was Rathenau's business, and insistent as were its claims on his attention during the war, he still found time to organise a work of extraordinary importance for the country. The possibility of a rigorous blockade seems never to have occurred to those politicians and soldiers whose task it was to prepare the country for the inevitable war. August, 1914, found Germany a beleaguered fortress, cut off from the world and dependent on itself for the supplies necessary for life and victory.

There was joy in Berlin when Rathenau volunteered to look after the country's raw supplies, and to do his best to extricate the Government from an awkward dilemma. A department in the War Ministry was placed under his orders, and full leave was granted him to execute the work according to his own ideas. Never, perhaps, did his greatness as an industrial organiser appear in so clear a light. Metals, textiles and chemicals seemed to spring spontaneously from the earth to fill the Government factories, and the last ounce of utility was won from every article of value. A wide range of substitutes, some better than the originals, was discovered. In eight months Rathenau had done all that a man not blessed with simple powers of creation could do to solve the raw-material problem. Without his co-operation, the continuance of the war for four years would have been an impossibility.

We have seen that Rathenau easily bore comparison with the greatest industrial strategists of the age, and yet it is only with a reservation that we can reckon him at all among the ordinary captains of industry; for there was a fundamental difference. All the others were satisfied when their undertakings could be voted sound financial ventures. Not so Walter Rathenau, to whom the successful enterprise seemed to be nothing more or less than a congenial subject for philosophic meditation. What, he asked himself, were the abstract and concrete circumstances which made such an undertaking possible; what, above all, was the degree of its dependence on our modern civilization? That led further back to a consideration of modern civilization itself—its origin, its characteristics, its inner value, its justification. At the last-mentioned point there was a long pause; for Rathenau believed pretty firmly that modern civilization could not be justified at all. Was it a freak of nature that set this strange practical man of affairs, when he had reached the summit of capitalistic power, to dream of a new orientation of our economic life, of a socialised

transformation of human society? He considered the world sated and degraded with material things, moving nearer to annihilation with each painful turn on its creaking axis, yet relentless in exacting homage to its own dulness. Like a truant schoolboy he fled from it when he could, and enjoyed stolen rambles in the realm of the soul. "Our purpose on earth," he said in his best-known book, "is not to win property or power or happiness, but to be transfigured into the divine through the efficacy of the human mind." His life is thus a baffling mixture of the real and the ideal; his feet remained ever glued to earth, but his heart was in the flower-strewn regions of his fancy and his eyes on the distant stars.

From 1902 on his pen was seldom idle. Apart from a rather mediocre drama, creditable poems, and some miscellaneous essays, his writings are those of an acute observer and dilettante philosopher speculating on social, economic, and political problems. He seldom wrote a page that was lacking in thought, and he had a bright and vigorous style; but many of his ideas were lost in their gorgeous raiment, and many of his words were taken too directly from the natural sciences to be understood by the ordinary reader, so that often when he pleased he pleased only by his vagueness. His collected works were published in 1918 in five good-sized volumes; between that period and 1921 some further booklets, and not the least interesting, were added.

Rathenau won fame in literary circles with a criticism of the existing order in Germany, and it was in that direction decidedly that his chief strength lay. The first book to create a real stir, *Zur Kritik der Zeit* (A Criticism of the Age), appeared in 1916. In it he develops the theory of two races in Germany—a ruling race, consisting of a small minority of Germans, and a subject race, consisting of a huge majority of non-Germans. The last centuries witnessed the gradual ascent of the subject class—a phase in the vertical *Völkerwanderung* of modern

times as distinct from the horizontal *Völkerwanderung* which destroyed the Roman Empire—until it had set its old masters completely aside and won the monopoly of power. With it came a new type of civilisation, for which Rathenau coined the ugly motto *Mechanisierung* (Mechanisation). Its characteristics are the enslaving of man to his work so that it is the master, he the servant; and the triumph of the lower instincts, so that man is held enchained to the material and incapable of the freedom which is his God-given heritage. Mechanised men are moved chiefly by ambition and by covetousness for property. They have industry, patience, curiosity, moderate needs—in fact all the qualities required to fill a mechanised earth. Like their betters, they are blessed with rich treasures of fiery passion; but, unlike their betters, they have no understanding for what is transcendent and eternal. Capitalism and Socialism are both natural and unhappy offspring of this mechanised era. Courage, however, for the old ideals is not dead; "man," even mechanised man, "pines for faith and for objective values," and the inner struggle which has already commenced is certain to end in the victory of the nobler purpose. These are the thoughts which underlie the book. They are obviously not satisfying to the ethnologist or to the historian, nor can they be said to contribute anything very important to sociology.

A year later Rathenau developed some of these ideas further in a new work, *Zur Mechanik des Geistes* (On the Mechanisation of the Mind), with the sub-title "Vom Reich der Seele" (Of the Kingdom of the Soul). The book begins with the true sentence: "Every question which we think to its end brings us straight to the supernatural." There follow an outline of the psychology of the individual and of the masses, a discussion of the root problems of ethics and a sketch of the artistic and cultural development of the chief modern peoples. The growth of intellectual life, first in isolated nations, then in national

complexes, appears in strong relief against a background of the natural sciences. But the chief purpose of the book is to point out the insignificance of the intellect in comparison with the soul. The intellect is the idol of the modern world, eagerly cultivated, blindly trusted, allowed to mark the boundary of human activity; for the mechanised man has no understanding for anything beyond the palpably rational. How misplaced is this confidence is shown by the fact that the intellect stands powerless and perplexed before those great questions—the why and the wherefore and the whither of life—which in the last instance assail the finite mind and clamour painfully for solution. The cult of the intellect is condemned also in its fruits, since its most characteristic product is the mechanical age, an age "in very truth that of Antichrist; for it is built on covetousness and enmity, struggling for riches and honours, debasing the divine into an instrument for its purpose, hardening the heart and estranging the soul." It would, he thinks, be hard to avoid a feeling of despair for the future did we not remember that the soul, with the purity, beauty and strength which are its natural attributes, must finally reassert itself, resume its rightful supremacy over the intelligence, and reach its ultimate destiny in true life and transfiguration. Science can take little part in this great upward struggle of the soul; for science only knows what is, not what ought to be. Weapons will rather be found in the region of intuition and faith; and here, as in so many other places, Rathenau approaches the *évolution créatrice* theory of Bergson. The author meant this to be a practical book which would have a practical effect upon the multitude; but its cloudy mysticism made it impossible for even a German public to derive much profit from it.

In the same year, 1917, appeared Rathenau's longest and most systematic book, *Von Kommenden Dingen*,[1]

[1] English Translation—*In Days to Come*. (Allen & Unwin. 1921. 12*s*. 6*d*.)

a criticism of state, society, and present economic conditions. The ideas here exposed were supplemented in a later booklet *Die neue Wirtschaft* (The New Economy), and in brochures on the new state and the new society. Rathenau proclaims himself openly as an enemy of modern dogmatic Socialism, which has its root in lower desires, its central point in the division of material goods, its end and aim in a new economic ordering of the state. Its way leads only from earth to earth, its deepest faith is revolution, its greatest strength universal hate, its last hope earthly comfort. He thinks rightly that this programme contains no remedy for the ills of oppressed humanity. Then comes his own solution. Salvation from such evils must be sought in the invisible world through the progress of the soul and in the visible world through the growth of human freedom. Three high-roads lead thither—the high-road of economy, the high-road of morality, and the high-road of equity.

As regards economy we must learn that property, claims to goods and the consumption of goods in thickly populated states can no longer be left to the good will of the individual. "Every man," he contends, "has need of common protection, of the common institutions which he has not created, of the corn which he has not sown, and of the cloth which he has not spun. The roof beneath which he sleeps, the street on which he treads, the instrument he uses at his work are produced by the community, and he has only the part in them which arrangement or usage allows." The same should hold good of consumption, and radical measures should be taken to prevent the false and foolish waste which is so common to-day among certain classes. Modern plutocracy is condemned as the most despicable form of oligarchic tyranny, and our modern law of heredity is rejected because of its manifold evil consequences. The whole situation is then summed up in four theses. (1) The collective product of human work is always limited.

Consumption should therefore be regulated so that all shall have sufficient, luxuries being forbidden until every rightful need has been satisfied. (2) The moral law ordains that a just agreement regarding property and income should be reached in every state. Only the state itself has the right to be illimitably rich, and from its riches it must make due provision for all needs. (3) Sources of wealth to-day are controlled exclusively by monopolists, speculators and heirs. In the new economic arrangement there must be no place left for these. (4) The right of heredity must be limited and education so extended that all difference between the classes disappears. A new order in accordance with these principles would mean a tremendous increase in production, coupled with the exclusion of all that is superfluous, ugly, or bad; the enriching of the state to an overwhelming degree, since the treasuring of dead wealth is hindered, waste and idleness rendered impossible, whilst free competition and incentives to private enterprise remain. Responsibility would be in the hands of the morally and intellectually capable, the conflict of classes brought to an end by the reduction of all to a comfortable and happy middle class, and full opportunity offered for the highest intellectual and economic development. Rathenau's elixir for a dying society is thus state socialism of the most comprehensive kind.

To reach this goal man must brace himself up for a moral reform without parallel in history. Fear and worry, ambition and love of display, garrulousness and falsehood, covetousness and curiosity—all characteristic of the modern order—must give way to feelings of common brotherhood and to noble love of sacrifice for the common well-being. The man of to-day says: "I mean to have and to show that I have." The man of the future will say: "I mean to produce and be." Even in these material times, the author thinks that there are to be found exalted souls who recognise that this alone

is the right and holy way, and that the number of such souls will increase until they are in an easy majority. Rathenau professes firm belief in the fulfilment of his prophecy; but he admits that the new era will be slow in coming, that the autumn fruits will be left for our sons and grandsons to reap. "We shall die as a generation of transition, laden with afflictions, profitable only in being manure for the future, unworthy of the harvest."

One of the last and perhaps the most interesting of all Rathenau's works, his tract on *Der Kaiser*, appeared in 1921. It is an attack not only on the monarchic and imperial houses as they existed in Germany, but on the monarchic and imperial principle in general. The avowed purpose of the book is to make dynastic life grotesque by painting its normal course in true colours, to show that a real man would be filled with suffocating disgust for such an interminable puppet-show. The idea of monarch may have been all right when the state was so small that the king could in some sense be regarded as its father; it was absurd when the state included millions. Towards Wilhelm II., the most brilliant and the most unfortunate of Prussian monarchs, he succeeds in being just. He notes his physical strength, his exceptional powers of mind, his happy memory, his charm as a conversationalist, his extraordinary gift for oratory and dialectic, above all, and in startling contrast to the fiery moustachios, his almost feminine kindliness and gentleness of heart. But if the Kaiser talked well he did not always talk wisely; if he had great ability he was impatient of those whose ability was still greater, so that under his rule mediocrity had become an essential qualification for the statesman who would enjoy his confidence. Then there were the slow-minded Prussian court nobility who thought the Kaiser's manysidedness downright genius and who piled on the incense accordingly; and there was the higher bourgeois ready to sell itself, body and soul, for an imperial nod or the tiniest token of imperial favour.

Outside of Prussia the sight was still more humiliating. Burgomasters bared their heads, grenadiers paraded, enraptured subjects shrieked undying devotion before some fat woman from an obscure princely family. Everywhere the same fictions were repeated. History was a series of inspired monarchic decrees. The Kaiser was sent from Heaven to be a father to the Germans upon earth and to be for eternity their all-highest Beatitude. Blame for this ridiculous situation should be ascribed to the institution, not to the man; indeed the Kaiser, to a far more tragic degree than any of his subjects, was the victim of conditions for which he bore little responsibility.

In a country cut loose from its traditional leaders and so weak in political talent as republican Germany, it was inevitable that a man of Rathenau's parts should come to a place of prominence. Shortly after the Revolution he felt within himself the call to public life, and went forward as a democrat for membership of the National Assembly; but he was ignominiously rejected. This left him with a certain leisure which he availed of to give to the world a number of booklets on post-war problems. Meantime many of his ideas on economics and state organisation were being eagerly debated by parties and political groups. Rathenau's personal influence was then great, and a campaign on behalf of his programme would certainly have met with success; but to everybody's surprise he let the opportunity slip with what seemed to be studied neglect. The obvious consequence was a serious weakening of his prestige. People began to ask themselves if his projects were meant to be realised in practice, or if they were written merely for the exercise of his imaginative faculties. His inactivity on the Commission for Socialisation, where he could, if he willed, have had everything his own way, served to strengthen the latter view. There was nowhere the impression that he wished to see anything definite done.

He had, it is true, by this means retained his freedom

of action, and when last year after the London ultimatum the "policy of fulfilment" was seriously adopted by Germany, he entered the Wirth Government as Minister of Reconstruction. Not, however, before he had publicly renounced all intention of giving effect to the schemes of social reform which he had preached so eloquently in the previous years. He entered on office, to quote from his opening speech, "totally free from economic prejudices," an excellent state of mind no doubt for a Minister in a shaky Coalition Cabinet, but not quite to the credit of a man with a past like Rathenau's.

In the reparations question he held with all his countrymen that the Allies, if they pushed their frenzied demands to the utmost limit, could bring Germany to annihilation, but not to payment. Where was the use discussing what Germany *should* or *must* pay, when the all-important point was what Germany *could* pay? It was obvious, for instance, that the country could not pay indeterminate billions in gold, seeing that she had not even one billion in her possession; on the other hand she could pay much in goods and labour, and she professed readiness to do all that the supply of raw material allowed. Thus at Versailles she had recognised the reconstruction of the devastated areas in North France as a national duty, and had offered to supply everything necessary for the work. The French rejected the proposal and insisted on having cash. Germany made another effort on behalf of the practical plan at Spa, but with equal ill-success. The Allies, it is true, saw no objection to having much of Germany's material wealth—mines, merchant-ships, engines, machines and dyes—transferred to themselves, but they showed no eagerness to relieve her of the crushing financial obligations imposed by the treaty. An opportunity of having the German point of view receive at least respectful attention appeared when Loucheur, one of the leading European industrialists, took the helm at the French Ministry of Reconstruction. Negotiations were

opened up between the French and German Governments, and after protracted discussions between Rathenau and Loucheur at Wiesbaden an agreement was reached. The agreement, however, was not satisfactory, and no one saw this better than Rathenau himself. It is difficult to understand why he signed it at all.

The following months saw innumerable crises at Berlin. Differences between the Democratic Ministers and other members of the Cabinet led to the resignation of the former in a body. Rathenau, too, retired, though it was as an economic expert rather than as the representative of a party that he had been called to the Ministry of Reconstruction. But his political activity was not diminished by this step. As confidential agent of the Chancellor, Dr. Wirth, he paid frequent visits to Paris and London, and took part in all the discussions which preceded the Conference of Cannes. The rebuffs and humiliations which, as representative of a broken nation, he had to bear at these meetings, do not make pleasant reading and need not here be recounted. In London he met Stinnes' scheme for re-establishing German finances with a counter-scheme of his own, a fact which gave the newspapers copy for the most fantastic accounts of the personal rivalry between the two men. All that need be said is that both one and the other returned home empty-handed. At Cannes, Rathenau made an important statement on the position in Germany, but with the fall of Briand and the collapse of the Conference, the statement passed almost unheeded.

In the spring of this year, Rathenau, after a period of refusal and a further period of hesitation, agreed to enter the Wirth Cabinet as Foreign Minister. The objection of his enemies to the appointment was as violent as had been expected. On the other hand, Rathenau was known to enjoy more respect in the English and French camps than any other German, and the Government thought this an advantage for which it was

worth while to take some risk at home. The short period of his career as Foreign Minister saw the practical abandonment of his old theory that the salvation of Germany was to be found in economics rather than in politics; experience proved that the two were inseparably connected, and that until the political sky was clear, there was little hope of a satisfactory economic development. Approaching, as he did, much more closely to the French than to the English in character, he found it easier to understand French policy, and, unlike almost all his colleagues, was prepared to go great lengths in seeking an arrangement with it. Unfortunately for him, his efforts in that direction found little appreciation in Paris.

Of the Rapallo Treaty, Rathenau's greatest achievement as Foreign Minister, it is as yet too soon to speak. The horror of the English and French and their satellities, and the ill-concealed uneasiness of the Americans when the agreement became known, are the best proof of what promise the treaty held for Germany. How much of that promise will be fulfilled only time can tell. What should not, nowever, be forgotten is the effect of the treaty within Germany itself. Only those who lived through the dark despondent days of last winter, when the accumulated miseries of the war and the defeat seemed to be concentrated in each passing hour, can realise what a new spirit of life and hope the treaty infused into the German people. They felt that they were beginning once again (to use their own frequent expression) to be an actor in European politics, and not merely a passive object, as they had been since 1918.

The political consequences of Rathenau's murder were immense. The failure of the Genoa Conference, the failure of the German Government to secure a final settlement of the reparations question, and its consequent failure to secure a loan from the international bankers had already placed the country in a serious economic situation, of which the external symptoms were a constant fall in

the value of the mark and a constant increase in the cost of living. Rathenau's death added to the difficulties. The rift between the classes, always great in Germany, became intensified, and found expression in unseemly scenes even in the Reichstag, where arguments of a primitive form tended to replace the traditional speeches. The Socialists, hitherto divided among themselves, closed their ranks and threatened the very existence of the present bourgeois government. Some declared for immediate elections, which would be certain to result in a large Socialist majority and a purely Socialist Government. This would lead inevitably to trouble with Bavaria where the huge majority of the inhabitants are openly monarchic in sympathy. The secession of Bavaria from the existing German confederation would probably mean similar action by the other South German states; Austria (now with the blessing of the Allies) would join in; the Rhineland would declare itself an independent republic, and the general situation in Germany would become essentially what it was before Bismarck took in hand the work of union. Yet face to face as they are with so great a danger, with the foe already within their gates and struggling tenaciously to bring everything to ruin, the German people are unable to show a common front, and are wasting time and resources in foolish quarrels among themselves. By great efforts the Government has succeeded in postponing consideration of the most serious points at issue until October. But they are optimists who believe that the Wirth Cabinet will survive until then; everywhere there are powder-barrels lying about, and a chance brand may start a fatal series of explosions. Meantime there is the greatest difficulty in finding a successor to the murdered Minister.

In passing a broad judgment on Rathenau's character and work, it is essential to keep in mind the various directions in which his activity was exercised. As an industrialist and financier he must certainly be reckoned

among the greatest of his generation. As a critic of the present social order, he showed remarkable insight, keenness of observation, and depth. He did not merely describe the evils of the day and brand with burning words those presumed responsible for them, as is customary with the majority of social critics; he went further and still further back until he had found what he thought the root cause from which all these evils sprang. As a constructive theorist in social matters, his ideas deserve attention. A levelling up and a levelling down of the classes, by means of legislation and education, to something approaching an uneven middle class is a development which the twentieth century will probably see to some extent realised. Whether the degree of unification which Rathenau wished to see can ever be reached may well be doubted. Men are simply not created equal, and no amount of wrenching and hewing on Procrustean beds can make them so. As a practical social reformer, Rathenau hardly passed mediocrity. He wrote much and beautifully, but without that divine fire which forces men to action. Thousands read and admired his books and agreed with his principles, and yet there are scarcely a dozen in Germany who would sacrifice anything to see his ideas put into practice. Rathenau himself set the bad example of indifference, for neither as head of a great firm did he show any desire to emulate Krupp, Ford and Cadbury in making life more humane for his workers, nor as a powerful Minister in the Government did he labour to have even one of his social reforms adopted.

In the philosophic world, Rathenau is best placed among such writers as Nietzsche, Houston Stewart Chamberlain, Spengler and H. G. Wells, that is to say, among literary men who busy themselves to an exceptional extent with philosophic speculation, rather than among philosophers proper. He suffered more than most others from that homelessness of soul which, in a world that has lost the priceless treasure of religion, is the sad lot

of so many intellectuals. With fretful hope he had gone through the various systems, especially of the moderns, but had found them, alas! like the storied castles of the Rhineland—interesting ruins, differing only in the stage of their decay. He produced nothing himself which one can call a system; indeed, he never got beyond a half-sentimental, half-religious confused type of idealism.

As a politician, Rathenau was energetic and resourceful; but as he was always honest about his motives and loved straight ways, he was scarcely a match for his hardy opponents in the European arena. In oratory he was neither a Demosthenes nor a Cicero; but he had a clear voice, an easy flow of words, and good matter, and he always found listeners when he cared to speak. The fact that he was a Jew and therefore in a certain sense international, was a great help to him in representing Germany abroad, just as it contributed largely to his unpopularity and finally to his assassination at home.

As a man, his sound ideas on state, society and economic conditions, on the human personality, on the importance and the purpose of life—often in full accordance with our own Catholic teaching—deserve the highest praise. So, too, his insistence on the incomparable superiority of the soul over the body and on the need for a vast improvement in public and in private morality. Deserving of mention also is the simplicity of his character, termed Franciscan by many enthusiasts of his own tribe, with a broad hint that this should be considered a characteristically Jewish virtue. He was a gentleman in the best sense of the word—kind, considerate, educated, refined, never petty, never offensive, though not a Christian, yet fulfilling within the measure of human weakness the great practical law of Christian charity by doing to others as he wished that they should do to him. Taken all in all, he was one of the most remarkable men of our generation; if not a genius, then with gifts which many a genius might envy.

JOHN RYAN.

THE BALTIC STATES FROM AN IRISH POINT OF VIEW

BY FRANCIS MCCULLAGH,
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III.—Latvia.[1]

MY first two articles dealt with Esthonia at considerable length. In the present article I shall deal briefly with Latvia; for much that I said about Esthonia applies also to Latvia and Lithuania, and there is no need for me to cover the same ground twice.

In Latvia, the Baltic Barons played the same part as they played in Esthonia, and were got rid of in the same way. The Letts, however, deserve special mention. They and the Lithuanians are cognate races and speak cognate languages, just as the Ests and the Finns are cognate. By language they belong to the primitive Indo-European family; and, excepting Lithuanian, there is no living language which stands closer to the primitive Indo-European tongue than Lettish. Both Letts and Lithuanians have occupied their present territory for the last two or three thousand years. Professor Bezzenberg of Königsberg gives them even as much as five thousand years, and is supported in this view by other philologues. And here I may pause to remark that in all the Baltic States the native languages are now in a position of unassailable strength, for the man in the street speaks them, and the principal newspapers are published in them.

Like the Esthonians, the ancient Irish, and various

[1] For Parts I. and II. see March and June issues.

other European nations over whom the steam-roller of Imperial Rome never passed, the Letts were divided into tribes, and were therefore unfitted for aggression on a large scale or even for efficient defence. The weaknesses of this system are obvious ; and if it contained a germ which would have grown into a better kind of civilisation than the not very satisfactory capitalist and militarist system which prevails throughout the world to-day, that germ has never been allowed to develop anywhere. That it produced in various parts of the world a high and original type of culture is evident, however, from Irish antiquities as well as from Lettish. In Lettish tombs of the second century which have been discovered near Wenden, beautiful objects in bronze and silver have been found, as well as crowns, spiral necklaces and bracelets, rings of delicate and artistic workmanship, and knives in leather sheaths ; and the amber which is still found in abundance on the Baltic coast, led to commercial relations with the Phoenicians, Greeks and Romans. The Giraldus Cambrensis of Lettland was a monk called Henry the Lett, who, towards the year 1225, wrote in Latin a most valuable chronicle of Livonia. Henry, though perhaps of Lettish origin himself, did not however take the native point of view, but regarded Latvia through the eyes of the German Crusaders (as they called themselves), who first appeared in the Baltic lands towards the year 1200. Like the Normans in Ireland, the Germans profited by the antipathy of the Letts for the Esthonians and of some Lettish chiefs for other Lettish chiefs to conquer all the Baltic States ; but it took them a long time to do it : it cost them much, and all their work is now undone. In 1351 Kaniprode, the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order, declared that during 84 years' continual fighting against the Letts, the Germans had lost 2 Bishops (who, like some of the bishops of those days, were oftener in armour than in episcopal robes), 6 Masters of the Order ; 28 Counts and Princes ; 49 other representatives of the great German nobility ;

11,100 knights; 4,000 citizens; 8,000 freemen; 15,000 "Crusaders"—a total of 117,000 men.

From the end of the thirteenth century the Letts were little by little deprived of their liberty, until finally they fell into a state of absolute servitude, from which they only emerged in the first half of the nineteenth century. Their masters could sell them like cattle in the market-place or put them to death without any fear of being afterwards called to account. One is reminded of the condition of the Irish who, even before the time of Henry the Eighth, could be killed like vermin; and who, in the beginning of the last century, were sometimes murdered with impunity by members of the ascendancy caste. In one of his few speeches in the House of Lords, the poet Byron gave an instance of an Irish Catholic being shot dead without cause by an Orangeman whom an Orange jury refused to convict.

When the Baltic Barons became Protestant at the time of the "Reformation," they made Protestants of their serfs also by the simple process of cutting all connection between them and Rome, and this was rendered all the easier owing to the fact that there was no native clergy. The same thing occurred in Esthonia and in Finland (where, however, the ascendancy was Swedish); but it did not occur in Lithuania, where the nobles were Lithuanian and Polish, and where all the people and all the upper classes are still Catholic. All the Letts and Ests whom I have consulted on the subject agree that the similarity of religion between the natives and their masters made things worse for the natives owing to the fact that the Barons controlled the church organization and were thus able to add spiritual to physical oppression. Even the Lithuanian nationalists complain that the strength of the Poles in matters ecclesiastical enabled Poland to impede their growth in national consciousness, and to make many Lithuanians lose their native language. Of this I shall speak in its own place.

Having reduced the warlike and capable natives of Latvia to the condition of cattle, the Barons began to treat them as cattle. If the Swedes or the Russians suggested any amelioration in the lot of the serfs, the Barons shrugged their shoulders, pointed to the wretched hovels of the Letts, and asked: "What can you make of such swine? They are obviously an inferior race. They were born to be slaves." If by some miracle a Lett of unusual capacity succeeded in raising himself from the peasant class, he became German by that very fact, and took a German name. Very large numbers of both Ests and Letts have now got thoroughly German names, so that the casual visitor to the Baltic States sometimes gets the impression that the German population is very large. There are even Cabinet Ministers, both in Reval and Riga, whose names are German, though they have not got a drop of Teutonic blood in their veins. Native doctors and professional men found it absolutely necessary in the old days to teutonize their names; but time brings about its little revenges, for many native families which teutonized their names within living memory are now trying hard to de-teutonize them. In the same way many ambitious Letts and Ests who made great careers for themselves in Russia are now at home working hard on the native language which they once despised. There are numerous cases, of course, of Ests and Letts who were born abroad and cannot, therefore, be blamed for their ignorance of their native language. Such men, if well known to have always been true to their country, are gladly received by their compatriots, and have, in some cases of exceptional experience and ability, been given important diplomatic posts. Even Russians are sometimes given high appointments: a Finance Minister of the Tzar is at present working in the Esthonian Foreign Office and doing valuable work.

All this constitutes a complete change. Formerly the great octopus-empire of Russia sucked in all the talent

found among its subject-peoples. Finns, Poles, Balts, Caucasians of unusual ability could never get official employment in their own countries; but they could always get work in Russia, where sometimes they rose very high.[1] So many of them, indeed, rose high—despite the fact that they belonged to "inferior races"—that one is surprised at the small part pure-blooded Muscovites have taken in the building up of the Muscovite Empire. At the beginning of their history they called in foreigners to rule them; and judging by the great numbers of Russians who have, during the past three years, discovered that they are really Poles, Balts, Finns, Ukrainians or members of some other non-Russian stock, it would seem that foreigners were still ruling Russia when Lenin took over from them. And though Lenin himself is Russian, not many of the other Bolshevik leaders are; so that one is inclined for a moment to wonder if history is not an imposture, in so far at least as it presents us—as it frequently does—with the awe-inspiring spectacle of "ruling" races extending their sway over many lands and producing a continuous succession of great men. In future, however, Russia will have to depend largely on Russians, so that the Succession States will be able henceforward to utilize for home use all the talent found within their borders. Probably this system of decentralization will be for the good of the world.

The eighteenth century, the terrible century of the Irish Penal Laws, was the worst period of Lettish slavery; one Lettish chronicler declared it to be "the heaven of the clergy, the paradise of the nobility, a gold mine for

[1] It is interesting to note in this connection that two of the most distinguished Russian generals were Irishmen and had links with Latvia. Field-Marshal Peter Count Lacy (1678-1751) was Governor of Latvia in 1729 and had large estates there. Field-Marshal George Count Browne (1698-1792) was also sometime Governor of Latvia. And in our own day Edward O'Rourke, Russian Count and Catholic Bishop, negotiated a Concordat between the Holy See and the Republic of Latvia. When the Lettish Republic came into existence he was appointed Bishop of Riga; but as the Letts expressed a desire to have a prelate of their own nationality, Bishop O'Rourke placed his resignation in the hands of the Holy Father, who appointed him to the titular Bishopric of Canea and named a Lettish priest to the See of Riga. Bishop Count O'Rourke is now Delegate Apostolic in Danzig.

the merchant, and hell for the peasant." But the very misery of the peasants saved the Lettish and Esthonian races from extinction. The Barons determined to colonize their lands with German farmers, but the colonists they imported would not put up with the treatment which the natives had to put up with, so that only about three or four thousand Prussian peasants remained in Courland. The Barons then tried to plant on their estates members of the German colonies which had taken root on the Volga, but this project also came to nothing owing to the objection even of the Volga colonists to the attitude of the Barons towards all their tenants.

Any comparison between the patriotism of the Irish and that of the Baltic peoples would show that Irish patriotism is, and has always been, very much the stronger of the two. The only long period since the first appearance of the Normans in Leinster, during which Ireland lay comparatively motionless and unprotesting in her chains, was during the century which followed the exhausting Williamite wars ; but even then the rapparees on the hills of Ireland and the Irish Brigade on the fields of Flanders struck blows which reminded England that Erin was not dead yet. Neither in Esthonia nor in Latvia was there any stirring of the dry bones, however, from the fourteenth to the middle of the nineteenth century. Then the national movement began in a very curious way. Some of the Letts, in order to sow discord between their oppressors, joined the Russian Church, and thus gained the protection of powerful bureaucrats, including George Samarine, the Slavophile, and Souvorov, Governor-General of the Baltic Provinces. Krischjahnis Waldemars, a Lett, took advantage of the controversy that arose in this connection between the Russians and the Baltic Barons in order to gather around him, in the year 1856, a circle of Lettish students, to found the first Lettish newspaper in 1868, and, in short, to start the modern Lettish movement, which has ended in a republic. From the year 1856 the

Esthonian movement never ceased to grow; and, by the year 1870, servitude had quite ceased in Lettland; the peasants had got control of the communes; Lettish was taught in the popular schools; and a number of Lettish associations aroused the national consciousness in many ways. There were Lettish Societies for education, charity, economic development, agriculture, insurance, and the organization of spectacles, concerts, and conferences. In 1868 a Lettish theatre was built in Riga; and soon after a great movement arose for the cultivation of the old Latvian choral singing, not only in the towns, but also in the villages. A similar movement arose, later, in Esthonia: in both these countries the national movement was powerfully assisted by the successful revival of the native music, which was carried out on such a grand scale that in one of the periodical *fêtes de chant* held in Latvia 111 Lettish choirs, comprising 2,618 singers were present. And the melodies in these cases were the real old melodies, not adaptations such as Mr. Thomas Moore prepared for English drawing-rooms in the case of Irish melodies. In Estland, Latvia and Lithuania no attempt was made, however, to get the young natives together in athletic clubs like those in Poland, Bohemia, Finland, and Ireland.

In the year 1878, after the Russo-Turkish war had given rise to a strong Panslavist movement in Russia, the Letts and their Baltdeutscher masters suffered much from a vigorous attempt on the part of the Imperial Government to russify both of them. An attempt was made to stop the growth of the Lettish language. Lettish schools were prohibited. No new Lettish newspapers were allowed to appear. The very name Latvia could not be used in a map, in any book, as the name of a newspaper, or even as the name of any association; but, naturally enough, it was about that time that the national hymn of the Letts, "God Save Latvia," was composed, and that a number of ancient legends (which the Russians regarded as very

tendencieux) were resurrected. One of those legends, which I mention because of its similarity to an ancient Irish legend, tells of the Lettish hero Imanta, who is not dead but sleeps under the Blue Mountain, from which he will emerge one day, awake, and with a flaming sword in his hand. In 1908 one of these legends was made the motive of a drama, "Unguns un Nakts" (Fire and Night), by the popular Lettish poet, Rainis, and had a great success on the Riga stage. It reminds one of Yeats' "Kathleen ni Houlihan."

I have already told how, with the disappearance of the Russians from Estland, the power of the Baltdeutscher Ascendancy ceased. Exactly the same thing happened in Latvia. And when it happened the Lettish Government called together a Constituent Assembly. From 80 to 90 per cent. of the people voted, and they returned 150 deputies, of whom one-third were returned by the Lettish peasants, one-third by the Social Democrats, one-third by other Lettish parties and by the representatives of the minorities, who got 15 seats. The Constituent Assembly met on May 1, 1920, and elected as President M. Tschakste. M. Ulmanis, a Lett, who has had a successful career as a farmer in America, was charged with the formation of a Cabinet, over which he still presides. I saw him a year ago in the ancient fortress which was once the seat of the Russian administration, and which, by the way, somewhat resembles Dublin Castle in appearance, and he struck me as a bluff, honest, and capable man. He told me that he was quite willing to utilize the agricultural, administrative, and commercial experience of the Baltdeutscher element; "but they must work with us," he added, "as Lettish citizens, having no more rights than any other class of Lettish citizens. If that does not please them, they can go—to Potsdam." And, as a matter of fact, some of the Diehards have gone to Germany; for the Letts hold that to tolerate the presence in the body politic of any proud,

foreign body regarding itself as superior to the mere natives of the country would be fatal to the growth of the young republic. About one year ago M. Ulmanis received into his Cabinet, as Minister of Trade and Commerce, a Baltic German, who has since done good work.

I might add that under the Tzarist, or rather the Baronial, regime the Baltdeutschers enjoyed unfair advantages over the Letts in the matters of business and commerce, with the result that there are in Latvia to-day many Baltdeutschers who have had a long experience of industry, business and commerce on a large scale. Towards such Baltdeutschers foreign business men naturally gravitate; and most of the British firms in Riga are dealing exclusively with them. I even know of Baltdeutschers who were very anti-English at the end of the war, but who are now working for British concerns. Personally, I think that if we want to rebuild the ruined commerce of Europe we should erase from our minds all the hatreds of the war; but I am afraid that it is not a desire to forgive which makes English firms act in the manner I have described; it is simply a desire to make money, and to employ in that process the best instruments possible. This policy will tend, however, to bring about a German economic conquest of the Baltic States and will thus delay the rise, among the Letts, of a powerful business community.

I must reserve the Lithuanians for a further article.

FRANCIS MCCULLAGH.

UNPUBLISHED IRISH POEMS

XIX.—On the recapture of Enniskillen

EDITED BY PROFESSOR OSBORN BERGIN, PH.D.

MAGUIRE's Castle of Enniskillen, built on an island in the Erne, was taken by English forces on February 2, 1594. On May 17, 1595, news reached Dublin that it had been recaptured by the Irish (see Calendar of State Papers). This poem must have been composed about the latter date. For the author see Poems IV and XV. In accordance with bardic convention O Heóghusa confines himself to generalities. Fermanagh had suffered greatly in the preceding year. Its people were "rather inclined to be scholars or husbandmen than kern or men of action," and their lack of fire-arms made it impossible to stand against the invader, for the polished weapons, which, the poet tells us, made such a brave show at festive gatherings, had proved no match for English muskets. In their recovery they were aided by O'Donnell with a body of mercenaries from the Scottish islands. O Heóghusa's optimism allows him to believe that the good old times have come back again.

The text is from 3. C. 12 (R.I.A.), a transcript made by O'Curry from the O'Conor Don's Book. O'Curry has modernized the spelling. Where corrections are needed I give his readings in footnotes.

O Heóghusa cct.

1. Mithigh[1] sin, a ráith na ríogh,
lór dhuit ar fhuilngis d'imshníomh ;
a chúirt ghéagthláith thirmgheal tais,[2]
ní himneadh éntraith fhuarais.

2. Ní fheidir mé an mithigh dheit,
mithigh dhúin agháil[3] th'aiseic :
fada a n-aonmhúich sibhsi is sionn,[4]
a Inis chraobhdhlúith Cheithleann.[5]

3. Ráithe is bliadhain gidh bé leis,
do bhádhbhair, beag do shaoileis,
re hucht laochradh bruaigh[6] Banbha,
at uaimh[7] fhaolchon allmhardha.

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[1] mithid (*sic passim*). [2]ttais. [3]fagháil. [4]sinn. [5]Ceithlinn. [6]bruaich [7]ad huaimh.

4. Gá ttám ní tuigthí an fadsa
comhrádh aithnidh[1] umadsa :
ort féin ní fhacadhais fhear[2]
do fhréimh ghlacsholais Ghaoidheal.

5. Níor léig graifne greagh[3] síthe,
níor chlaon lorg creach ccoiccríche,
a phuirt úir thiormaoibhinn te,
clúimh ar fhionnmhaoilinn t'fhaithche.

6. Dob annamh riamh roimhe sin
tú aonlá ag Aodh Mág Uidhir,
gan congháir, gan claisdin sdoc,
gan comhdháil d'fhaigsin iomat.

7. Gidh eadh, ní hionchaointe dhuit,
ránuic tú an tí rod fhuasluic,
a ráith pheallghlan na bport ttais,[4]
neamhghar na n-olc do fhuarais.[5]

8. Fáth orchra ní heagal libh,
ó thug Dia d'Aodh Mhág Uidhir,
a mhionn, a ghormáras fear[6] bhFáil,
seal dot orlámhas d'fhagháil.

9. Ní glór tadhuill[7] tarla ribh,
meadhair[8] ríogh fhréimhe hUidhir,
ní aithréagha í acht re seal,
ná sní d'aithmhéala th'aigneadh.

10. 'San chruth chédna ad-chífe sibh
a mbíodh d'aoibhnios uair éigin
san fhaithche ghégórthais ghil[9]
d'aithle t'éadóthchais aignidh.

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[1]aithnigh. [2]fhacadhaois fear. [3]greadh. [4]tais. [5]da bhfuarais. [6]bhfear.
[7]taguill. [8]mheghuir. [9]sa bhf. ng. ng.

11. Do-chífe dearg druim tar ais,
mar[1] an chéduair do chleachtais,
gach leath dot ghormfhaithche ghloin,
ó chomhghraifne each n-éasccoidh.

12. O shliocht bonn mbuidhne[2] fileadh,
ó inghilt chreach ccoillidheadh,[3]
do-chífe ceinndearg a ccruth,
cíche do gheillearg ngrianach.[4]

13. Do-chífe um chiomhsaibh do learg
coimhling eachradh 's[5] chon cceinndearg,[6]
iomramh laoidheang[7] láimh réd phort,
's gach maoileann lán fád longphort.

14. Do-bhéara deallradh[8] dornchladh,
lí sgiamhdha sgiath n-óronchon,
solus meirge ngairthe nglan,
aighthe do leirge ar lasadh.

15. Cuirfid aoibhle h'arm leabhar,
cuirfidh[9] grís gruadh[10] ndáileamhan,
's loinnear bleidheadh ndealbhghlan ndonn,
deallradh[8] teineadh ad thiomcholl.

16. Mar do bhídís uair oile,
éigse Innsi Laoghaire,
beid ag[11] congháir ar leirg lis,[12]
gobhláin sa ceird do chaithis.

17. Mar do chleachtais do-chífe
lucht sgaoilte sgél ccoigcríche,
foghar téadchaoin ceóla crot,[13]
deóra[14] as gach éntaoibh[15] ionnot.

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[1] *om.* [2] buidhne. [3] ccoiligheadh. [4] ghrianach. [5] is. [6] ceinndearg. [7] laigheang. [8] dealradh. [9] cuirfe [10] griadh. [11] béid. [12] do lis. [13] ceól a cerot. [14] deór. [15] éntír.

18. Do-chífe, mo chean tárruidh,
ar tteacht ón tuinn iombádhaidh,[1]
th'aos comtha ar-ís ar th'aghuidh,
fís gach orchra fhuarabhair.

19. Mo chean aghuidh fhuil[2] oruibh,
mo ghéanor d'éis fhuasgalaidh,[3]
a ráith úr na n-aibhneadh tte,
lér taidhleadh ar úr h'innse.

20. A dhorus caomhna an chóigidh,
d'éis a n-uarais[4] d'urchóidibh,
lucht th'aithne ar chaoimheing do chnuic,
aoibhinn a haithle[5] a n-iomluit.

21. Má fríoth orat iasacht ghearr,
a aolráith Innsi Ceithleann,
ó ghríbh chláir fhonnbháin Fhinne,
táir[6] orghráin na haislinge.

22. A longphort ríogh fhréimhe Duinn,
má fhuarais[7] orchra thadhaill,[8]
fa bhrón ní saoilfidhe sibh,
clódh do mhaoithchridhe as mithigh.

Mithigh.

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[1] iombathuidh. [2] fuil. [3] fuaslagnidh. [4] bhfuair air. [5] aoibhinn thaithle. [6] tar. [7] fuarais. [8] thaghuill.

Translation.

1. It is time, O fort of the kings! Enough care hast thou endured. O soft-branched court, dry and bright, yet moist, what thou hast gotten was no one day's trouble.
2. I know not whether it is time for thee, but it is time for us to recover thee. Long have thou and I been in settled gloom, O close-branched Isle of Ceithleann.[1]
3. For three months and a year and more, thou hast been—little didst thou foresee it!—a den of foreign wolves, confronting the hosts of Banbha's border.

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[1] Wife of Balor the Fomorian, from whom Enniskillen is supposed to be named.

4. In short, all that time no familiar speech was understood around thee; thou didst not see upon thee one man of the bright-handed stock of the Gael.

5. O fresh fortress, pleasantly dry and warm, no racing of elfin steeds levelled, no track of outland preys bent, the grass on the fair summit of thy lawn.

6. Rarely before that, when under Aodh Mág Uidhir,[1] hadst thou ever been a single day without shouts, without the hearing of trumpets, without the sight of an assembly around thee.

7. And yet, O bright-carpeted fortress with watery banks, thou hast found thy deliverer, thou needst not mourn the hardship of the evils thou hast suffered.

8. Thou jewel, thou dark-hued dwelling of the men of Fál, since God has granted to Aodh Mág Uidhir to possess thee once more, thou hast no cause of ruin to fear.

9. It was no passing voice that came to thee, the mirth (?) of the king of Odhar's race[2]; thou shalt not change it (?) save for a space; wring not thy heart with regret.

10. In the same form thou shalt see, after thy heart's despair, all the pleasure that was once in the lawn bright with soft golden boughs.

11. Thou shalt see, as thou wert wont to do at first, every side of thy fair green lawn upturned and reddened by the racing of fleet steeds.

12. From the footprints of a band of poets, from the grazing of outlaw's cattle, thou shalt see the swelling breasts of thy sunny slopes reddened on top.

13. Thou shalt see about the skirts of thy slopes steeds and red-headed hounds racing, galleys rowing beside thy bank, and a crowd on every hill-top.

14. The glitter of hilts, the beautiful hue of shields with golden leopards, the lustre of bright shining standards, will set the faces of thy slope ablaze.

15. The flashes from thy long weapons, the glow in the cheeks of cup-bearers, and the brilliance of beautiful dark goblets will cast about thee the glitter of fire.

16. As was their wont of yore, the poets of the Isle of Laoghaire will be shouting on the slope of thy court, branches whose art thou didst enjoy.

17. As was thy custom thou shalt see tellers of tales from abroad; a sweet-stringed sound, music of harps, strangers from all sides in thee.

18. Thou shalt see (happy he who has attained it!) thy friends again before thee, escaped from the whelming flood; all the ruin thou hast suffered is a dream.

19. Happy the face that looks upon thee; well for him, O fresh fortress of the warm streams, who after deliverance has trodden upon the soil of thy island.

20. O protecting gate of the province, after all the hurts thou hast suffered, for those that know thee on thy hill's fair slope, pleasant it is after their hardship.

21. O lime-white fort of Enniskillen, though thou hast for a brief space been taken on loan from the champion of the Finn's fair-swarded plain, the horror of the dream is a thing to scorn.

22. O fortress of the prince of the race of Donn[3], if thou hast met with a passing decay, one could not have thought that thou wouldst grieve; it is time to vanquish thy sore heart.

OSBORN BERGIN.

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[1]Killed in Co. Cork in 1600. See Poem XV.

[2]Odar mac Cernaig, ancestor of Méig Uidhir, the Maguires.

[3]Donn Carrach Mág Uidhir, died 1302; first prince of Fermanagh of the name Maguire.

THE EXILE

AMID the honey-dews of the Sussex country,—
All night the nightingale is never still—
Under the flooding moon her heart keeps sentry
Over flocks and pastures on an Irish hill.

By the Mayo cabins, white-winged, gold-crested,
Her free spirit wanders till the night is gone;
Safe and warm the children there like young birds nested,
Glides she by the peat-water so still, so lone.

Keen are the winds o'er the brown bog blowing,
Poised in the arching sky an eagle broods,
Oh, she was stifled in the lusty growing,
Starved for the great winds and the lashing floods.

Oh, she was thirsting still in garden and forest
For the bareness, the bleakness and the rushing rain,
In the rich summer night her heart was sorest,
Crying for the fields she knew, crying in vain.

Now in the deep of night ere day is breaking
Loud calls the nightingale from hill to hill,
But she is far away her hunger slaking,
Oh, she is well content: she drinks her fill.

Back from the grey house by the lapping water,
She must be travelling ere the peep of day;
Yet when the sleep is here, Oh Ireland's daughter!,
Who shall constrain free feet that know the way?

KATHARINE TYNAN.

FRENCH PEASANTS

THESE, going home at dusk
Along the lane,
After the day's warm work,
Do not complain.

Were you to say to them
"What does it mean?
What is it all about,
This troubled dream?"

They would not understand,
They'd go their way;
Or if they spoke at all,
They'd surely say:

"Dawn is the time to rise;
Days are to earn
Bread and the midday rest;
Dusk to return.

"To be content, to pray,
To hear songs sung;
Or to make wayside love,
If one is young.

"All from the good God comes,
All then is good;
Sorrow is known to Him,
And understood."

One who had questioned all
And was not wise,
Might be ashamed to meet
Their quiet eyes.

All is so clear to them,
All is so plain,
These who go home at dusk,
Along the lane.

W. MONK GIBBON.

AN ELEGY

THE dusk greys o'er a leaden waste of waves
And saddens on the mind. Anon a spark
Of white foam all the glooming night-fall braves,
And pricks against the onset of the dark.

And in the woods a wandering, plaining wind
Seeks leavéd strings to give its spear-points mark ;
But all its edgéd discords, wildly blind,
Seek vainly—for the trees are straight and stark.

Your death has darkened our life's sea ; ev'n so,
Life's music seeks our heart-strings in vain quest ;
The blooms you loved, for us have ceased to blow
But on the grave where you have gone to rest.

Oh ! come on spirit feet, pathless, wind-wise,
With flash of sunset wings through twilight glow—
Though wafts of infinite sadness from your eyes
Speak muted sorrow for us left below.

Though 'tis a dream, and I may wake to know
There is no glory on the great grey way,
For you are gone, as all the great things go,
Gone like the wind, the cloud-drift, and the spray.

But, thinking thus, my prayer for you will rise ;
And yours for me, in nights with sorrow long,
May give back beauty to Hope's chilléd eyes
And music to the broken heart of song.

Let sorrow be—and from the folded heart
Let one by one the petals of my song
Fall lonelily upon your grave apart,
To loose prayer's perfume, beautiful and strong.

M. MONGEY.

THE NEW GERMAN SYSTEM OF PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION

MICHAEL CRONIN, M.A., D.D.
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THE aim of all proportional representation systems is to give representation to minorities. The means by which this end is secured is the elimination of the waste vote. This can only be done in plural-member constituencies. Under the single-member constituency system, which still exists in England, all the votes going to the defeated candidate are wasted. So far as the result is concerned they might as well not have been recorded at all.[1] And since a particular party might happen to be a minority in every constituency, so it is possible that a party representing nearly half the electorate over the entire country might be wholly unrepresented in parliament. The aim, as we said, of the different proportional representation systems is to remove the possibility of these disproportionate results; but the common element in all is the elimination, so far as possible, of the waste vote.

Under Lord Courtney's method, now in operation in Ireland, a voter is allowed to express a number of preferences. He possesses one vote only, but if that vote is not used to elect one candidate it goes to another. It is not irrevocably wasted, as in the old system, through the defeat of any particular person. The system has a number of merits; but it has defects also which have militated against its adoption on the Continent. These it would take me too far afield to discuss at length; but I may give prominence to one very objectionable feature. There comes a point in the counting of the votes when a selection of papers has to be made for transference. Now it makes a very great difference to the different candidates what

[1] Many of the votes going to the majority candidate are also wasted. All that he requires for election is one more than the minority vote. The remainder does not affect the result.

papers are transferred. If one set is selected for transference, the vote will favour one candidate ; another selection would favour another candidate. Sometimes it happens that there are two persons requiring only one or two additional votes to give them the quota. We may, therefore, imagine their feelings whilst they watch the presiding officer at work effecting the selection ; for it is made according to a most extraordinary and, I may add, most undemocratic principle. He just shuffles the papers and at random lifts off a group from the top of the bundle. These he divides amongst the different candidates according to the preferences recorded thereon. Could there be a more hopeless method of recording transfers than this ? What it comes to is that a candidate may be returned not by the votes of the constituents at all, but by the chance volition of the presiding officer in deciding to stop the shuffling of the papers at one moment rather that at another, or to cut the bundle at one place rather than at another. This chance or discretionary element in the transference of the votes represents, to my mind, a fatal defect in any voting system.

In Belgium, before the war, an excellent system was adopted which gave every chance to minorities. Under this system the different parties in a constituency were given as many seats as they obtained quotas at the polls, the quota being determined by the well-known d'Hont rule—divide the votes recorded for each party by the numbers 1, 2, 3, etc., successively ; if there are five seats the quota is the fifth highest quotient thus obtained ; in a four-seat constituency it will be the fourth highest quotient. For instance, if in a five-seat constituency the Liberals obtain 8,000 votes, the Catholics 5,000, and the Socialists 3,000, we divide these totals successively in the way described, the resulting quotients being :—

8,000	5,000	3,000
4,000	2,500	1,500
2,666	1,666	1,000

The quota is the fifth highest of these numbers, *i.e.*, 2,666; and since this is contained three times in the Liberal total, and once each in the Catholic and Socialist totals, the five seats are distributed in the same proportion, three going to the liberals and one to each of the other parties.[1] The system is simple and efficient; but it will have been noticed by the reader that the defect of the waste vote is not entirely eliminated. Both the Catholics and Socialists could have come by the same result with a very much smaller number of votes than those actually polled. 2,667 votes would have given them one seat. The unused remainders are worthless. And since unused remainders might occur in other constituencies, so these parties are never allowed to utilise their full voting power as electoral bodies. The waste here is, of course, not so great as in the single member constituency system; but it was serious enough before the war to excite widespread dissatisfaction after every election. Similar dissatisfaction was felt in other countries, practically all the systems being subject to this defect of the unused remainder.

The electoral problem, therefore, which has been engaging the attention of electioneering experts in Europe for a number of years is that of the utilisation of remainders. In Belgium a new system was recently devised under which party remainders in one constituency (*arrondissement*) can be combined with remainders belonging to the same party in other constituencies *of the same province*, and can be used to secure extra seats. The rule, however, (devised by Van de Walle) under which these combinations are effected is exceedingly complicated, and can be followed only with difficulty even by men accustomed to the intricacies of proportional representation systems. I have before me as I write the tables setting forth the results and the working of the system in one of the provinces of Belgium in the year 1914. In it remainders are

[1] How the three Liberal seats are divided amongst the Liberal candidates need not be explained here. It has no bearing on our present enquiry.

worked out as ratios in reference to the whole provincial electorate: these ratios, worked out to three decimal places, are divided by the whole number immediately above that in the ratio; other complications then occur, the result being a maze of figures that would be quite unintelligible to most people and, what is worse, based on no very obvious principle of electoral justice. I do not think that the system will live through many more elections. A voter will always like to know what happened to his vote, or whom it helped to elect; and it would require an angel from heaven to trace the effect of any particular voting paper through the maze of forbidding figures in these returns. I have been examining other systems also besides the Belgian, all devised to meet the difficulty of the unused remainders; but they are complex in the extreme, and from other points of view unsatisfactory.

Now what is obvious to anyone examining those different systems is that they are all based on a common underlying view of the nature of an electoral constituency, and that as long as that view continues to be accepted, the difficulty of the remainders is bound to lead to complexity in any attempt at solving the problem of their use. The view to which I here refer is that of the fixed constituency—*i.e.*, that the number of seats in any constituency must be fixed beforehand, it being determined before the election takes place that a constituency shall have four or five or six seats, no more, no less, and that therefore before the election takes place the size of parliament also shall have been fixed. Now where this is the case there will always be difficulty about using the remainders in such a way as just to fill up the vacant seats after the first set of successful candidates (that is, those who have obtained quotas) has been decided on. It is like attempting to insert an absolutely inelastic rod into an absolutely inelastic sheath in such a way as to fill it up perfectly, leaving no interstices. It cannot be done by

ordinary mechanical methods. Neither can remainders be used to fill up the fixed electoral constituency without the most laborious manipulation and straining of the votes. As a result the proportional representation systems on the continent have become complex in the extreme, whilst the principles underlying them are far from convincing even to men not unused to dealing with complex problems of mathematics and politics.

At last, however, a method of proportional representation has been devised, based not on the idea of a fixed but on that of an elastic constituency, a method which is at once simple and effective, and as near perfection as any electoral system could be. As might be expected the credit of it goes to Germany. It is a system which is capable of modification so as to meet the needs of different peoples; but its underlying principle is perfectly determinate and easily described. Before the election opens each party sends in two sets of lists of candidates—viz., a number of constituency lists and a national list. The national list will be explained later. The constituency list contains the names of candidates in a constituency. The order of the names is arranged by the party committee, and any seats won by a party go to the candidates in the list order. A party gets as many seats in the constituency as it receives quotas at the polls, the quota being determined by a very simple process as follows. First, the number of members in parliament is fixed *approximately*. We shall suppose it to be *about* 500. Next the number of voters in the whole country likely to go to the polls is computed *approximately*. Suppose there are *about* 10,000,000 of these. The quota

$$\text{is } \frac{10{,}000{,}000}{500} \textit{ i.e.,} \ 20{,}000.$$

The quota is therefore fixed absolutely; but the constituencies and parliament are elastic in the sense that it is not known exactly how many quotas there are in either, and how many seats will be contained in either. The seats

are then distributed according to the quotas obtained. Suppose that the Liberal party obtains 50,000 votes in a constituency: it is awarded two seats. There is then a remainder of 10,000 votes unused. This is the first step in the distribution of the seats. Every party gets as many seats in the constituencies as it obtains quotas. The second step consists in combining the unused remainders. The Liberal party, for instance, combines its remainder of 10,000 already mentioned with remainders in the *neighbouring* constituencies constituting between them a province. Suppose that these remainders amount to 75,000 votes, the party is given three extra seats.[1] Here again there is a remainder of 15,000. The third step relates to the national list, to which seats are accorded on the basis of the provincial remainders. The Liberals have 15,000 of a remainder in one of the provinces. This is combined with the remainders in the other provinces, and each quota thus obtained entitles a party to a further seat. In this case the seats go to candidates on the national list.[2]

In Ireland the system would work as follows. Suppose we want a Lower House of about 200 members, and that there are about 800,000 people likely to vote, the quota will be 4,000. For every 4,000 votes going to, say, the Labour party in Dublin[3] that party gets one seat. If they get 13,000 votes they get three seats. There is then a remainder of 1,000. Secondly, the Labour party combines this remainder with remainders in the other counties of Leinster. If they amount to 9,000 votes, the Labour party gets two additional seats. There is still a remainder of 1,000. This coupled with the Labour remainders in the other three provinces might amount to

[1] It is arranged that these three seats will go to that constituency which has yielded the greatest number of Liberal votes in the present count, and in that constituency they go to the next three names on the list.

[2] Each party may still be left with one remainder. As at present arranged that remainder brings with it a right to one seat if it is more than half the quota. In this way in the final result the unused remainders are rendered so small as to be negligible.

[3] We shall regard Dublin as one constituency, Leinster being a province.

4,000, which would give them one seat. This one seat would go to a candidate on a national labour ticket previously prepared.

No method could be simpler or more effective. There is no transferring, no manipulation, no ratios, no decimals, no compounding of ratios. It is a straightforward and intelligible method throughout. It would be possible, for instance, to say what happened to any vote anywhere in the country, and whom it helped to elect. That is not the case in Belgium. Then, minorities are represented exactly in proportion to their numbers, because the unused remainders are *nil*. One of the chief excellencies of the system is that it finally eliminates jerrymandering as an electioneering instrument. There is no use trying to accumulate useless votes in a constituency when they can be used in connection with the national list. Also, there are many good men in every country who would not care to face the trouble and annoyance of electioneering campaigns. These men could be invited by the party leaders to come in on the national ticket.

There is just one defect, but it is not insurmountable. Party in the present German system is given too much power. As candidates private individuals count for nothing. The party leaders arrange the order of the names on the list, and the seats are distributed in that order. But might not the names be arranged in alphabetical order, the seats going to those candidates who receive the greatest number of votes? In that way the party influence would be reduced to a minimum. The new German system is capable of all sorts of modifications such as may be required by the different circumstances of different countries.

MICHAEL CRONIN.

THE CATHOLIC SOCIAL MOVEMENT IN FRANCE

BY VIRGINIA M. CRAWFORD.

THE LABOUR PROBLEM AND THE CATHOLIC SOCIAL MOVEMENT IN FRANCE. By Parker T. Moon. (Macmillan. 1921. 18s.)
PARIS CHARITABLE, BIENFAISANT ET SOCIAL. (Plon-Nourrit. 1921. 25 fr.)
LA NOUVELLE LÉGENDE DORÉE. Par Maurice Talmeyr. (Perrin. 1921. 7 fr.)

ONE of the unexpected results of the great war has been to turn much that was contemporary in our lives into history: the difference between pre-war and post-war is so immeasurable whether in large things or in small. Even the governments that have survived revolution have suffered a new alignment and are operating in a fresh environment. This is as true of France as of other countries, and one is reminded of it afresh in reading Professor Moon's very able study of Catholic Social developments in that country during the last hundred years. For much that flourished as an integral part of Catholic life up to the very eve of the war was simply wiped out of existence by it. The Action Populaire, with its busy printing-presses throwing out pamphlets by the hundred thousand every year, was scattered;[1] the model factory of Val-des-Bois was blown to bits by German guns; the Semaines Sociales were wholly suspended, and may or may not in the future play the educational role that fell to them in the past; Count Albert de Mun is no more; and the shuffling of parties to and fro in the French Chamber is inspired by new political currents which may lead no one knows whither. Throughout the nation the French spirit is profoundly different from the French spirit as we most of us knew it from 1870 onwards.

[1] The Action Populaire has been revived, but in Paris. The Semaines Sociales have also begun to function again.

As to whether the Catholic Social movement is destined to exercise, as Professor Moon thinks, a guiding influence on the post-war situation, opinions will certainly differ. Meanwhile the moment is opportune for the appearance of this valuable social history : we can read it with something of the detachment with which it is written, and yet criticise it with a living knowledge of at least the later events it sets out to describe.

Very rightly the author has pursued his researches back into the early years of the Restoration ; for although unquestionably Count Albert de Mun and the Marquis de la Tour du Pin were the real founders of the Catholic Social Movement in France as we envisage it to-day, its roots may be traced back to the first Catholic protests against the orthodox political economy school of last century. Immediately after the close of the Napoleonic wars mills and factories sprang up in Northern and Eastern France, and all the horrors of unprotected labour were produced there as elsewhere—men and women toiling fifteen hours a day and little children from four upwards working beside them, in order (argued the manufacturers) that the baby fingers might acquire the necessary textile dexterity. Meanwhile contemporary economists—Bastiat, J. B. Say, Dunoyer and others—obsessed by their faith in the immutable laws of political economy and the sanctity of unrestricted competition, shewed themselves as indifferent to the actual fate of the workers as Mill or Adam Smith. Happily, in France as in England, Christian men soon began to protest against their intolerable doctrine. Already in 1832 Bishop Gerbet lifted up his voice against the failure of the economists to recognise that Christian principles lay at the root of social economy ; Louis Veuillot pronounced Political Economy to be as profoundly calamitous as it was profoundly impious ; while Lacordaire, with his keen vision and incisive tongue, got to the root of the matter when he declared : " Between the strong and the weak, between the rich and the poor, between the master

and the servant, it is liberty that oppresses and law which makes free." The first victory of the Catholics against the non-interventionist school was the Child Labour Act of 1841. One of its most eloquent advocates was Charles de Montalembert.

In regard to two familiar names of the mid-nineteenth century, Professor Moon helps us to see them in their true perspective. Frederic Ozanam is remembered far too exclusively among us as the pious founder of the St. Vincent de Paul Conferences, hardly at all as a vigorous denouncer of the political economists, and still less, we may add, as the cultured author of that delightful volume, *The Franciscan Poets*. He opposed equally " the extremes of absolute *laissez-faire* and of dictatorial government intervention," and in great measure it was he, with his intimate understanding of the Middle Ages, who first drew the attention of his friends to the advantages of the medieval guild system, thus helping to shape an important item in their future policy. He was much more truly democratic than most of his associates, and in the optimistic days of 1848, when men seriously believed they were on the eve of a new era of freedom, Ozanam was one of those who implored Lacordaire to enter the lists once more as the protagonist of religion and liberty. Unhappily the hopes of those days when the white-robed Dominican took his place in the Chamber among the deputies of the extreme Left, were short-lived indeed, and the two decades of the Second Empire were destined to be years of a timorous reaction, barren of beneficent legislation, during which the Church in France came more and more to side with Louis Napoleon and to show itself more and more hostile to anything that could be labelled as Socialism. Only one Catholic name in the social field stands out prominently in these years, that of Frédéric Le Play.

In the opinion of some of us the Catholic social movement is far less indebted to Le Play than is sometimes assumed. What it did acquire from him, though Professor

Moon fails to indicate this very clearly, was a belief in the efficacy of the *enquête*, the patient and minute investigation of actual facts as a preliminary to social and legislative activity. French social workers have excelled in the *enquête*—it is a field in which we in England are lamentably weak. But Professor Moon does make it perfectly plain that Le Play's teaching marked a distinct set-back from earlier Catholic writers. True, he criticised the existing social order, but he was strongly averse to all labour organisation and extremely reluctant to admit government intervention. Beyond a belief in religion, property and the family as the basis of the stable State, he put his faith in *patronage* and the benevolent efforts of kind-hearted land-owners and employers. It is little wonder he was strongly supported by the well-to-do. To sum up in Professor Moon's phrase, social reform became under his guidance an aristocratic "uplift" movement rather than a democratic effort to establish a better social order. Had not Albert de Mun and La Tour du Pin, their minds filled with the horror of the Commune and of the means taken to suppress it, boldly made an entirely fresh departure in 1871; and had they not shed by degrees the traditions they had imbibed from Le Play, there would have been no real Catholic social movement to combat the bourgeois and rationalist ideals of the Third Republic.

The detailed history of the development of the movement from 1870 onwards is presented by the author with a completeness that, as far as we know, no other volume can approach. Incidentally, also, he gives a great deal of information not easily available concerning French parliamentary groups and tactics in the last half-century. Where we venture to differ from him is in the value he sets on the later political activities of the Action Libérale Populaire in the Chamber of Deputies. In his estimate it has been the centre of the whole Catholic social movement. It aimed, it is true, at being a sort of French Centre party, but it lacked from the first both a clear ideal and a definite

programme, and, frankly Catholic as it was, it effected very little in the interests of the Church during the decade before the war. Its leader, Jacques Piou, was a keen political organiser, but he had none of the idealism that is needed to make a great leader, and his opportunism was resented by the more thorough-going democrats of the party. The real strength of the movement has lain, in our opinion, in what Professor Moon regards as the side shows : in the Action Populaire of Rheims, the Semaines Sociales, the working-men's clubs founded by de Mun, the pilgrimages to Rome, Val-des-Bois, and so forth, just as the real strength of the Catholic party in Belgium during the same period lay, not in its parliamentary majority, but in the wonderful network of *œuvres*—educational, co-operative and social—with which the Catholic democrats had studded the country. In France as in Belgium, it was these varied activities which by their ceaseless propaganda work educated the Catholic public, stirred its moral conscience, formed its opinions and organised it for action. In the strictly industrial sphere the influence of Harmel's model factory at Val-des-Bois was incalculable. Here this devout Catholic put into solid practice all the obligations that the Christian social ideal could suggest as between employer and employed.

The present writer, many years ago, spent a long and unforgettable day at Val-des-Bois, escorted round by the *bon père* himself, a sturdy figure of unquestionable honesty, betraying a curious mixture of shrewdness and sanctity. A great deal of what was initiated by Harmel is to-day almost a commonplace of welfare work ; the really noteworthy features were the strong religious atmosphere of the place and the unaffected simplicity with which the old man, rich as he was, lived and worked in the midst of his employees. The big airy factory, with its church and schools, its cottages and recreation halls, was an oasis of peace and industry in a setting of green acacia trees ; and it undoubtedly owed much of its success to the fact that it was

an isolated industrial hamlet on the wide, bare plain that surrounds Rheims. It could not have been run on just those lines in a big industrial centre. And we may all be agreed that the management was far more paternal than workingmen would endure to-day. None the less, Val-des-Bois possessed the unrivalled merit of having set a new and high standard for employers of labour which many followed; and it is quite true to say that to-day the big *industriels* who are establishing the *salaire familial* in their factories with a view to helping large families are merely carrying on the tradition established half a century ago by the *bon père.* Moreover, without Harmel's unique influence in the industrial world, the great workingmen's pilgrimages to the Vatican, so inspiring a feature of the later Leonine years, could never have been achieved. None the less, Professor Moon opines (p. 120) that Harmel's example was not altogether helpful to the Catholic social movement!

These, however, are points of detail. Where far more serious reserves concerning Professor Moon's judgments must be made is in connection with Chapter IV, dealing with "Encouragement from Abroad." Reluctantly the author has dragged himself away from the French movement, in which he has steeped himself, in order to give a cursory, and unfortunately in some instances a quite misleading, impression of the movement in other countries. And yet, as he himself would be the first to admit, the movement in France cannot be rightly appraised unless it is correctly placed in its European setting. The very title of the chapter is misleading: it is a case of inspiration from abroad far more than encouragement—inspiration in the earlier years from Bishop Ketteler and Germany, and in later years from Leo XIII.

All through the twenty years of the Second Empire when, as we have seen, Catholic social life was almost stagnant in France, Baron von Ketteler, as Bishop of Mainz, was leading his great crusade against the evils of

unrestricted competition, and in the name of the Church fighting the battles of the victims of the new industrialism. He entertained no doctrinaire doubts as to the urgent need both for government legislation and for workers' trade-unions; and he realised the evils of the Liberal *laissez-faire* doctrines as clearly as those of Marxian Socialism. He had the rare merit of being at once a thinker and a man of action, an inspiring orator, a man both of practical ideas and of great spiritual force. This was why Leo XIII spoke of him to Decurtins as "my great precursor," and how it came about that it was from Mainz—and not from France—that this new Christian conception of social duty radiated throughout Western Europe. The leading French sociologists frankly recognise this. "The first and true instigator of the Catholic social movement," writes Georges Goyau in *Le Pape et la Question Sociale*, "was the Baron de Ketteler." And he adds the striking testimony that Germany was the only country in which the Catholic clergy vigorously combated the abuses of Capitalism without waiting to be urged on by anxiety concerning the Socialist peril. Almost similar words concerning Ketteler are used by Max Turmann in his *Catholicisme Social*. Finally, we know from that most attractive of autobiographies, *Ma Vie Sociale*, that Albert de Mun himself traced back his own first aspirations towards social activity to the knowledge he acquired of the German movement during the months of his imprisonment at Aix-la-Chapelle in 1870. Hence it is putting the whole matter out of its due proportions to state, as Professor Moon does (p. 121), that "probably" the German movement was the most important.

What is true of German influence over progress in France is equally applicable to other countries. Even Belgium, which entered rather later on the field of Christian social reform, turned for inspiration quite as much to the Rhineland as to Paris, as the present writer can testify from personal investigations. Austria, of

course, imported all its social ideas direct, and the party worked throughout in the closest co-operation with Germany. So also did German-speaking Switzerland. Undoubtedly Mgr. Mermillod was in constant touch with Paris, and Fribourg, which was the annual meeting-place of an important discussion circle, the Union Sociale de Fribourg, naturally, as a French-speaking canton, drew its intellectual inspiration mainly from France. But the real national democratic movement, of which Decurtins was the leader, moved wholly in the German orbit. On more than one occasion in later years, when the venerable leader was living in semi-retirement at Fribourg, he related to the present writer how, as a young man, the name of Ketteler had been to him a trumpet call to action, and how the whole of his rather stormy political career had been inspired by the resolve to do for Switzerland all that Ketteler had achieved for the Rhineland ; and this he did with astonishing success. None the less Decurtins' greatest individual contribution to the cause of Catholic social reform lay in the fact that he, before all others, realised its international possibilities, and this it was that brought him into personal relations with Leo XIII and also with Cardinal Manning. Switzerland, indeed, during the years 1885-1900 was an international rallying-ground for the whole movement ; and Swiss Catholics were in the very forefront of the struggle to build up a new economic society on Christian principles.

Professor Moon's affirmation (p. 135) that the " English movement " was " almost Socialist in character " is oddly misleading. One is inclined to retort that there was no movement in England, and that it was not Socialist. Cardinal Manning unhappily stood absolutely alone in his championship of the worker as far as English Catholics were concerned. His intervention in the Dock Strike was even more unpopular with them than his passion for Total Abstinence. The *Rerum Novarum* on its publication excited but little comment among us and remained wholly

without influence. Only one Catholic writer of distinction, Mr. C. S. Devas, devoted himself whole-heartedly to expounding and popularising its teachings, and it was not till twenty years later, when, largely through the influence of the late Father Charles Plater, S.J., the Catholic Social Guild came into existence, that a section at least of English Catholics gave serious attention to the social problems of the hour. Meanwhile, many a time, on the Continent it happened to the present writer to be eagerly questioned by leaders of the movement in France and Belgium, in Switzerland and Italy, as to the position in England, and to have reluctantly to admit that the mantle of the great Cardinal had fallen on no one's shoulders and that Christian democracy was practically unknown among us. And this in the years when abroad Cardinal Manning's name was one to conjure with and when his portrait was to be found in a place of honour, second only to that of the Pope, in almost every workingmen's club or patronage one visited.

Though Professor Moon's book is a record of remarkable achievement, it fails to leave the reader wholly satisfied. It raises in his mind a number of perplexing problems. How far should the Church of any country intervene in the secular affairs of the State? Is a Catholic Party ever desirable? Is it wise for priests, even as distinguished as Lacordaire or the Abbé Lemire, to sit as members of a popularly elected Chamber? Is it even desirable for laymen to enter, not alone Parliament, but a County or Town Council professedly as a Catholic instead of professedly as a citizen eager to give civic service? To-day the attitude of the Holy See towards the young Italian *Partito Popolare*, which though openly consisting of professing Catholics, is not allowed to call itself a Catholic party and is not controlled in any way by the Hierarchy, goes to show that in Rome the dangers of political Catholicism are fully recognised. Certainly as far as France is concerned the perusal of this absorbing volume has strengthened our conviction that the political side of the Catholic social movement, even with so splendid a leader

as de Mun, provides its least satisfactory record, indeed that in France political Catholicism has proved a failure, whether practised by Monarchists, or *ralliés*, or the followers of M. Piou. It is in the realm of ideas that it has triumphed, at least partially. It has built up a great school of Christian thought, midway between Liberal individualism and State Socialism, with an idealism equally opposed to both. It has given rise to a whole school of sociologists whose writings have proved of the highest value, and by education, by propaganda, by discussion it has trained men's minds to a new conception of social duty. But when it comes to political action we believe men should fight on a political or civic basis and not on a religious one. Political victories are often dearly paid for in the spiritual sphere, and the Church easily becomes compromised by one party or the other. It was the anti-republican and anti-Dreyfus Catholics who provoked the Associations Law and the breaking of the Concordat; and it is a question whether to-day the Catholics of the Action Française, with their exaggerated Nationalism and their bitter spirit of revenge towards Germany, are not doing the Church a similar disservice.

Happily there is another side to Catholicism in France, and one outside the range of Professor Moon's pages: the realm of hidden charity and personal sanctification. Here the religious faith of the French people has never been found wanting. Perhaps no country in the world has displayed Christian charity in a more exquisite guise than France during the nineteenth century. And this is all the more wonderful when it is remembered that throughout the years of the Revolution the whole of her religious life was crushed and blotted out, and everything, save the actual fabric of the churches, had to be re-created. How it sprang into life again and blossomed afresh in a multitude of *œuvres* of every kind was the real marvel of the years of the Restoration, so barren on the political side. We grasp one side of it from the immense sums collected annually in France for the Propagation of the Faith, and

from the hosts of French nuns who exile themselves year by year to carry Christianity to the African desert or to the Far East. One finds glimpses of another side in such books as *Le Récit d'une Sœur*, or in the lives of Madame Swetchine and of Natalie Narischkine, the Russian girl of noble birth who became a Sister of Charity. For later years there is an almost bewildering mass of material available. We can only recall here Max Turmann's suggestive volume, *Initiatives Féminines*, and draw attention to a really wonderful compilation, *Paris Charitable, Bienfaisant et Social*, issued last year by the Office Central des Œuvres de Bienfaisance (Paris), tabulating every society and institution aiming at social betterment. As a book of reference nothing could be more complete and methodical, giving all the additions and alterations imposed by the war and by post-war conditions. But, being French, the work is something more than a mere dry addition to our reference shelf. Something of the spirit of Christian charity pervades its thousand pages, largely the product of voluntary workers, and its preface and " explanatory note " treat very skilfully of the always delicate relations between public and private benevolence. Finally, to bring the subject up to date, we would warmly recommend a quite recent volume by Maurice Talmeyr, *La Nouvelle Légende Dorée*. His sketches shew no falling-off in the combination of vivid faith and beautiful delicacy of service on behalf of the needy which is in the highest French tradition. Here we can read of the blind Sisters of St. Paul and their lives of ceaseless charity to others ; of the widowed Dames du Calvaire, who make Cancer patients their special charge in their spacious hospital in the rue Lourmel ; of the even more hidden labours of women like Melle de Bonnefois, the benefactrice of circus children ; or of the valiant curé d'Elancourt, trudging the Paris streets from door to door on behalf of his orphanage. Before such as these criticism is dumb, and the ambitions and jealousies of Catholics in the political arena of very small account.

VIRGINIA M. CRAWFORD.

A PIONEER OF NATIONS

BY PROFESSOR EOIN MACNEILL, D.LITT.

Part II.[1]

ABOUT fifteen years ago I drew the attention of Kuno Meyer to a poem, *Cú-cen-máthir maith cland*, preserved by the genealogists, which to my mind exhibited a combination of the rhyming strophe with the non-syllabic rhythmic verse and represented an early stage in the metrical development of Irish rhyming poetry. At the time Meyer did not accept my view in any degree, attributing the absence of syllabic measure in the poem to scribal delinquencies. Some years later he took up, with characteristic thoroughness, the investigation of this class of poetry, with the result that he adopted and established, but in a more accurate form, the view that I had presented, and he published a collection of poetry of the same metrical kind, the date of which he fixed in the seventh century.[2] Briefly stated, the metrical characteristics of this poetry are these : taken singly, the verses belong to the rhythmical poetry of the oldest Irish tradition ; taken together, they are connected by end-rhyme and strophe with the Latin tradition. They have a further feature which is derived from the Irish tradition, the connexion of the end of each verse with the beginning of the next by means of head-rhyme or alliteration. The theme in each case is genealogical and pre-Christian. Bearing in mind that

[1] For Part I see March issue.

[2] *Uber die älteste irische Dichtung*, I. (Berlin, 1913).

Cenn Faelad is the first recorded composer of rhyming strophes with non-religious theme, I am now contending that the transitional poetry published by Meyer grew in Cenn Faelad's time, the middle of the seventh century, out of the union of Latin and Irish culture, in which Cenn Faelad gave the lead. Direct evidence is wanting, and I base the case on what is often stronger in matters of history than a detached statement or ascription made on unknown authority in some ancient document, the evidence of cumulative probabilities.

In the later and ultimate development of *dán direch*, the Irish poets embodied all the characteristic features of the two earlier metrical systems and superadded others, until the tolerable limits of artificial technique were reached and even passed. This development came rapidly after the seventh century. Already, about the year 800, it has reached full growth and is verging on hypertrophy in the *Félire* of Oengus Céle Dé—a work which exemplifies how the Latin-Christian culture was in turn invaded by the offspring of its union with the culture of the *filid*. In the earlier stages, however, the *filid* were content with an easier technique formed by combining a few selected features of each system. It is evident that, in such a combination, two main alternatives were possible. One of these is found in Meyer's collection of seventh-century rhyming poems—syllabic measure is rejected, and the quatrain or distich with end-rhymes is adopted from the Latin tradition, alliterative rhythm and verse-binding from the Irish tradition. The other alternative was to reject rhyme and to combine syllabic measure with the native rhymeless metric, producing something like the blank verse of English poetry. This kind of verse was abundantly produced in the transitional period—and no doubt imitated afterwards by poets who sought to give an archaic semblance to their compositions. Its character and significance appear to have escaped Meyer's notice. Let us now recall the statement in the story of Cenn

Faelad's schooling, that he wove the oral teachings of the schools on a pattern of poetry.[1]

If we seek to apply this statement to the early text of the Laws, and especially to that part of *Bretha Etged* which is said to have been written by Cenn Faelad, we shall find it singularly inapplicable. Of the early text, only a minor portion is in verse, which alternates with a sententious mnemonic prose, often poetic in diction but not in form. This prose may be to a greater or less extent the resultant of an earlier versified casting; for, during the three centuries that preceded the writing of the Laws, the Irish language had gone through a series of phonetic changes so great that, supposing any particular passage to have been handed down verbatim and orally from the beginning to the end of that period, its outward form of verse would inevitably have become worn away. We have seen that Cenn Faelad wrote rhyming strophes on themes of history. The rhyming strophe, however, and systematic end-rhymes are wholly absent from the ancient text of the laws. Nevertheless, regular strophic verse without rhyme, and numerous passages of verse in syllabic measure, are embodied in the ancient text; and since there is no likelihood that this sort of metric was either introduced into the teaching of the laws before they were written or was imposed upon them after they had passed into written record, the probability is that the versification of parts of them in syllabic and strophic measure accompanied the process of their transformation into writing, This introduction of a somewhat refined form of the older versification may well have originated the statement that Cenn Faelad wove what he learned on a pattern string of poetry. We may, however, be on our guard against assuming that either the whole body of oral teaching of the Laws or the versification of all passages that exist in this refined form came through the point of Cenn Faelad's pen. It is enough

[1] The same statement, in the same wording, is found again, A.L.I., III. 550, being derived no doubt in both instances from an early version of the story.

to recognise in him the pioneer of innovation, and his example may have been widely followed in his own time. Here is an instance of rhymeless syllabic strophic verse which, like all the versified passages of the ancient text, is printed as prose in the official edition of the Ancient Laws :—

Ní naiss uma ná hairget ná hór acht for mál ;
Ní naiss buar ba Chinnia for nech ná bet bai.
Ni naiss tir for immramach mani fotha selb ;
Ní naiss étach for nach nocht mani torma tlacht.
Issé grethe cen torad do gní rocholl mbreth ;
Ité messra ad gella a chumung do chách.[1]

The most frequent form of syllabic verse in the Laws is in verses of seven syllables, each verse ending in a word of three syllables. The following instance exhibits a strophic arrangement, which can hardly be fortuitous : —

Bertaid Sencha cétbrethach Hícsai Bríg a fírinni ;
bantellach ar ferthelluch, issí con mídir bantellach,
comtar ferba fulachta comtar ferba falguide
for a gruaid iar cilbrethaib. for a gruaid iar fírbrethaib.[2]

To realise that these measures are a refinement of the traditional rhymeless metric, one has but to compare them with the examples of the latter collected by Meyer.[3] Whence is the heptasyllabic measure derived ? Beyond doubt, I think, from the early rhyming hymns in Irish, and by these from Latin hymns.[4] Take, for example, the rhyming hymn of St. Colmán moccu Cluasaig, a contemporary of Cenn Faelad and principal (*fer légind*) of the

[1] A.L.I., IV. 36. Line 2 has *for nech lais na biat ba*, line 3, *munas fotha sealb*.

[2] A.L.I., IV. 14, 16. For other instances, see I. 64, IV. 2, 4, 8, 14, 38, 44, 264, V. 498. Departures from the measure are probably scribal, sometimes obviously so. In the lines quoted above I have twice amended *gruaidib* to *gruaid*. The same metre is found with occasional shorter verses with monosyllabic ending, which served to mark the end of a strophe of variable length. See III. 536, also *Timna Cathair Máir*, " Book of Rights," p. 192.

[3] *Uber die älteste irische Dichtung*, II. It is curious that most of Meyer's examples are composed in couplets. In this, I think, they exhibit Latinist influence, due either to the hymns or to the singing of the Psalms. There is plenty of the early rhymeless verse that has no such exact strophic arrangement. See Meyer, *Irish Metrics*, p. 2.

[4] *Irish Metrics*, p. 5. Compare *Veni Sancte Spiritus*.

Latin school of Cork.[1] Some of its strophes are part in Latin, part in Irish, all in heptasyllabic measure. Meyer quotes a hymn of St. Hilary, in alternate verses of eight and seven syllables.[2] For some reason, perhaps because of its early adoption by the *filid*, the heptasyllabic measure, in great variety of form and combination, became dominant in Irish poetry as long as *dán dìrech* remained in vogue. Probably nine-tenths of Irish poetry, from the seventh to the seventeenth century, are composed in verses of seven syllables.[3] The trisyllabic end-word is a frequent feature in St. Colman's hymn, and is found also in St. Hilary's. The regular recurrence of the heptasyllabic measure with trisyllabic ending in a series of successive verses represents the latest development of early Irish rhymeless versification. Fortunately, there is one example forthcoming which places this conclusion beyond doubt.

The authorship of the non-syllabic rhyming poem to which I drew Meyer's attention is ascribed in the MSS. to Luccreth moccu Cérai. Two other poems ascribed to Luccreth were previously published by Meyer in "The Laud Genealogies."[4] Meyer does not appear to have observed that these two poems also represent, in two distinct forms, the blending of the two traditions. The three poems, each exhibiting a distinct selection from the technique of the two earlier kinds, indicate that Luccreth was an experimenter in the production of new metres by combination. All three are concerned with genealogical traditions or legends. One of those in "The Laud Genealogies" has the first line *Ba mol Midenn midlaige*, which conforms to the heptasyllabic measure with trisyllabic ending; but this measure is not observed throughout the poem, the verses varying greatly in number of syllables.

[1] Windisch, *Irische Texte*, I. 6. [2] *Irish Metrics*, p. 5.

[3] It may have been an early Italo-Celtic measure that persisted in Gaul. Compare the Saturnian verses:—

Et Naevio poetae, quum saepe laederentur,
Dabunt malum Metelli, dabunt malum Metelli.

[4] *Zeitschr. für Celt. Philologie*, VIII. 306, 308.

They are arranged in rhyming quatrains. This poem belongs accordingly to Meyer's class of transitional versification with rhyme.[1] The other poem, with the first line *Conailla Medb míchuru*, is by far the most interesting specimen of all this transitional poetry. The individual verses are throughout on the heptasyllabic model with trisyllabic ending exemplified in the first line. Throughout they are grouped in quatrains, with a complete break in sense and syntax at the end of each quatrain. In all these features they are identical in form with *Bertaid Sencha cétbrethach*, quoted above from the Ancient Laws. Towards the end of Luccreth's poem, however, a further refinement in the form of end-rhymes is introduced. The poem itself, in fact, is a progressive experiment in the combination of the two metrical traditions.

We have material for fixing approximately the date of Luccreth's work. His poem on the genealogy of Cú-cen-máthir, king of Munster, is fairly certain to have been composed before that king's death in 665. Had any later king of the Eoghanacht dynasty been reigning when the poem was made, the inclusion of his name would have been neither difficult nor inopportune for the poet.[2]

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[1] In it, as Meyer noted, the kind of rhyme called *debide* makes a tentative appearance—*Uber die älteste irische Dichtung*, I. 52.

[2] Meyer finds some difficulty in accepting so early a date for this poem, but the grounds of his difficulty seem to me insufficient. Part of the poem, containing the pedigree of Míl from Adam, is found almost verbatim in another poem of Meyer's collection, and of course must have been copied from one poem to the other. Meyer's chief ground for deciding that the poem ascribed to Luccreth is the later is that the common part, which is the last part of each, ends in the other poem with a word corresponding to the initial word, but does not so end in the poem ascribed to Luccreth. The reasoning here is at fault. That the opening word of a poem should be repeated or imitated in the closing word is indeed a fashion of the early religious rhyming poetry in Irish, and afterwards became a law of composition. But it is not a fashion of the early rhymeless poetry, and therefore is not necessarily present in a form of poetry originating from both. It is not found in the two other poems ascribed to Luccreth. The poem in which Meyer held this rule to be fulfilled begins with *Enna* (=Ende), and ends with *ēn*. Meyer, finding no sense in *ēn*, amended it to *ēr*, but the resemblance between *Ende* and *ēr* is too faint to satisfy the rule, supposing the rule to be applicable. Meyer points to the occurrence of Middle-Irish *trēna* in Luccreth's poem, where Old-Irish would have *triuin*, but this may be treated as a scribal substitution, like *Temraig*, p. 41, for which Meyer restores the O. I. form *Temuir*. By the way, on p. 27, Meyer adopts the Middle-Irish name-form *Cathāir*, though one of his MSS. gives correctly the archaic form *Cat[h]uer* (=*Catuviros*). Further tokens of relatively late date are found in certain appendices to the poem, but these are probably added by a later genealogist, who would find no difficulty in imitating the easy metric of his original.

Luccreth was accordingly a contemporary of Cenn Faelad. His poem *Conailla Medb míchuru* is partly identical in metre with the heptasyllabic verse of the Laws, and partly a stage further advanced in the process of transition, to which both belong.[1] We may say with confidence, if the "pattern of poetry" is founded on fact and is represented in the extant law-tracts, that the passages in syllabic verse are the work of Cenn Faelad, or of someone directly influenced by him.

Perhaps the most remarkable of Cenn Faelad's achievements, and one which amply confirms our view of his part in the combination of the two cultures, is the work which bears his name in its title, *The Book of Cenn Faelad*. This is a treatise on the grammar of the Irish language, written in Irish. It is the first work known to have been written on Irish grammar, and I suppose it is a thousand years older than any treatise on the grammar of any other European language except Greek and Latin.

The extant portions of the *Book of Cenn Faeladh* are preserved in a more extensive work on Irish grammar written about two centuries later. Like the original text of the Laws, it became a kind of Scripture to the *filid*, who supplied these early writings with glosses and commentaries in imitation of the glosses and commentaries that the Latin schools supplied for the Holy Scriptures and for other ancient writings of high authority. The later grammatical treatise is known by the title of *Auraiccecht na nEces*, and has been edited by Mr. Calder for the Irish Texts Society. The ninth century, in which it was written, was also the time in which the first written law-tracts began to be glossed, for already their language was becoming unintelligible. It was regarded as a distinct form of Irish, and was called the Bélre Féne, or "speech of the ancient

[1] Meyer (*Uber die älteste irische Dichtung*, I. 52) says that the date of *Conailla Medb míchuru* is not later than the beginning of the eighth century. We may note that the latest dated name to which, as to Luccreth's name, the *moccu*-formula, indicating the gens, is appended is that of Crónán moccu Cualne, abbot of Bangor, who died in 691.

freemen." The period of the oldest glosses on the Laws is roughly defined by their linguistic forms, which are Old-Irish, and a more specific indication was perceived by O'Donovan. The Laws in one passage mention the case of an epileptic (*talmaide*). Upon this the glossator writes: "Fethgna's complaint—a blessing on the soul of Fethgna . . . The epilepsy, from which Fethgna suffered—a blessing on the soul of Fethgna."[1] Fethgna, "episcopus, haeres Patricii et caput religionis totius Hiberniae," died in 874,[2] and the glossator's prayer for his soul must have been written soon after. It may be remarked here that the only law-tracts deemed worthy of gloss and commentary were those first written from oral tradition. *Crith Gablach*, written in the eighth century at latest, perhaps towards the end of the seventh, has neither gloss nor commentary.[3]

The literary activities of Cenn Faelad already described might be regarded, at a stretch, as having been moulded by the forces around him. His treatise on Irish grammar shows, however, that he worked from a conscious purpose of joining the two cultures, or rather of equipping the native culture with what he deemed to be good for it in the apparatus of the Latin culture. The words he uses in this work show how distinctly conscious he was of the separate existence of the two threads that he sought to weave together. The work itself completes the evidence that the anecdote of his schooling accords with the facts of his education, subjecting them perhaps to a dramatic kind of compression. As in the case of some of the early law-tracts, only so much of the *Book of Cenn Faelad* was preserved as might afford a basis for a commentator's exposition; yet what remains gives probably a fair indication of the range of the treatise, a range neither very wide nor very deep—confined, in fact, to some general aspects of the subject. The commentator tells what is told in the story of Cenn Faelad's schooling so far as concerns the three memorabilia of the battle of Moira and the removal

[1] A.L.I., I. 300. [2] Annals of Ulster, A.D. 873. [3] A.L.I., IV. 298.

of Cenn Faelad's "brain of forgetting," but adds that this fact itself was memorable by reason of the store he made of Irish lore and jurisprudence and Latin lore.[1] It is clear that this writer, too, was familiar with the story of the three schools. The *Book of Cenn Faelad*, like his *Bretha Etged*, is said to have been written in Daire Luráin.

To judge from the excerpts, Cenn Faelad began his treatise by telling that, according to "the authors of the Irish," the *Bélre Féne*, or archaic language of the Laws—if indeed he did not mean by this term the Irish language in general—originated at the Tower of Babel. This, of course, is the teaching of the Latin school, and the word *augtair*, derived from the Latin *auctor*, is appropriately said of Latin writers. He goes on to say that "the Latin alphabet" is divided by the "Latinist" into vowels and consonants, the consonants into semi-vowels and mutes. This classification, he declares, has not been acceptable to the "Irishman" (*Góedel*), who takes all the characters of the Ogham which are not vowels to be mutes. Cenn Faelad therefore understood the alphabet in which he wrote Irish to be the Latin alphabet and foreign to Irish. The Irish (*Féni*), he says, have three genders, corresponding to the masculine, feminine and neuter of "the Latinist." Instead of the three degrees of comparison, positive, comparative, and superlative, of the "Latinist," the *fili*—he now uses this term—has seven distinctions (*etargaire*), under which category are comprised apparently, as well as the degrees of comparison, the personal inflections and "infixed pronouns" of the Old-Irish verb-system. From this it would appear that the *filid* had got so far in their own notions of grammar as to discuss the various inflexions of the language and to make some kind of classification of these. Beyond this point the later writer ceases to quote Cenn

[1] *Filidecht ocus brethaib ocus légend.* Instead of *brethaib*, we find a scribal *briath*—as though for *briathraib* "words." Doubtless the Middle-Irish scribe found Old-Irish *breth* in his exemplar and mistook the vowel for *ē* = Middle-Irish *ia*. *Bretha*, rendered by "judgments" in the official translation of the Laws, means "rules of law."

Faelad, but he adheres throughout his treatise to Cenn Faelad's doctrine that the traditionally proper medium for recording Irish speech is not the Latin but the Ogham alphabet. The bearing of this doctrine on the teaching methods of the two schools in Cenn Faelad's time is obvious.

The use of the Ogham alphabet, as the Ogham inscriptions testify, dated some centuries before Cenn Faelad's time, and extended over the entire territorial range of Irish speech, including the Irish settlements in North and South Wales ; also in south-western Scotland, from which it had spread to the Picts of northern Scotland. Through it the Irish language had acquired a fairly definite system of orthography. The tradition of this orthography, however, and its distinctive features did not pass in any degree into the writing of Irish in manuscripts. The oldest Irish manuscripts and texts, including the text of the oldest law-tracts, have a wholly distinct orthographical system, which was based on the pronunciation of Latin current in the Latin schools of early Christian Ireland. This pronunciation of Latin, which lasted in Ireland until it was displaced after the Norman invasion by a French pronunciation, was distinctively British, not Continental, and reflected systematically the changes which the British (*i.e.*, Welsh) language had undergone in its consonantal framework between the beginning and the end of the Roman occupation of Britain. The early manuscript orthography of Irish was, therefore, derived not through the tradition of the *filid*, but through the tradition of the Latin schools.

On the typical attitude of the Irish " Latinists " of that age towards the actual or potential literary cultivation of the Irish language, we have some notable pieces of evidence. St. Adamnan, born in 624, prefixes to his *Vita Columbae* an apology for having to write proper names " in the rude (*vilis*) Irish tongue." A similar apology is made more than a century later by the scribe of the *Book of Armagh*. Having transcribed some passages in Irish,

he is careful to explain that he could have translated them into Latin, but did not do so lest he might confuse the reader with "the abundance of Irish names not having quality." Two remarkable questions are quoted by the commentator on the *Book of Cenn Faelad* in his introductory remarks, and his conjectural answers show that the questions represent the mind of a bygone age. One is: "Why is Irish said to be a worldly language?"; the other: "Why is he who reads Irish said to be rude (*borb*) in the sight of God?" Obviously the sayings for which explanation is demanded in these questions came from the Latin and ecclesiastical side of Irish culture. Obviously also they were said at a time when the native culture was asserting itself and was discerned as a rival. The reading of Irish, not exactly declared to be a mortal sin but taken as proof of an ungodly disposition, does not mean the reading of such hymns and homilies as had been written with pious intent in the "Latin alphabet." Taken along with Cenn Faelad's distinction between the usage of the "Latinist" with his alphabet and the usage of the "Góedel" or the *fili* with his *bethe-luis-nin*, it may be understood to mean the reading of oghams. It is hardly to be doubted that the use of oghams by the *filid* was connected with what survived among them—and not a little survived—of druidical occultism.[1]

[1] The Ogham tradition itself offers an interesting testimony of the aloofness of the two cultures. Initial V in Irish words changed to F about the beginning of the seventh century (O'Máille, "Language of the Annals of Ulster," 130). The manuscript lore of the *filid*, as is evident, goes back to the middle of the seventh century. The "Book of Cenn Faelad" makes comparison between the Latin and the Ogham alphabets, and the so-called "Book of Ferchertne," a work of the same period, which follows the "Book of Cenn Faelad" in the *Auraicceht*, shows part of the Ogham alphabet traced with a pen. Nowhere, however, in the manuscript lore of the *filid* is the third Ogham symbol equated with V, but in all instances with F. If the *filid* had been in touch with the Latin culture, the equation of this symbol with V would have almost certainly become fixed and would certainly have been remembered within a century of the substitution of F for V. The same facts show that the manuscript lore of the *filid* did not extend back to the sixth century. The Ogham alphabet, in the "Book of Ferchertne" and afterwards, is named by its opening letters *bethe-luis-nin*, in imitation of *abecedarium*, the name of the Latin alphabet, from which the Irish *abbgiter* is derived. But *bethe-luis-nin* contains in appearance the names of the first, second, and fifth Ogham symbols, omitting the third (*fern*) and the fourth (*sail*). I suggest that this name originated from the first five symbols (*blvsn*), the second, third and fourth forming the syllable *lus*, and that the name is therefore older than the substitution of F for V.

The writing of Irish heroic tales and secular literature in general begins in the time of Cenn Faelad. Tradition connects the beginning, in the case of the heroic tales, with a definite name, that of the *fili* Senchán Torpeist. Before that time it was a function of the *filid* to recite these tales in the presence of courts and assemblies. Part of the learning on which the rank and status of a *fili* were based was that his memory should be stored with so many twenties or fifties of the tales—an ordinance clearly belonging to a time when the tales did not as yet exist in writing. It was in the time of Guaire, king of Connacht, we are told, that Senchán caused the great tale of *Táin Bó Cualngi* to be written down. Guaire died in 663 or 666, about a quarter of a century after Cenn Faelad's literary work began.

Cenn Faelad did not originate the written literature of Irish. That honour belongs to the "Latinists," the churchmen who wrote Irish hymns and homilies and from whom Irish had received a settled and peculiar orthography before Cenn Faelad learned to write. His distinguishing achievement was the breaking of the barriers of tradition and prejudice that separated the two cultures and the admission of the *filid* and of all their lore to the franchise of the "Latin alphabet." Initiated into a world-culture, at a time when Irishmen and Irish schools were at its head, he took his stand with the language, the laws, the poetry and the history of his native land, and turned to their service the apparatus of their mighty rival. The epithet "Sapiens" accorded to him by an ecclesiastical chronicler of the period shows that his work earned the respect of the "Latinists." The writer who reports the anecdote of Cenn Faelad's schooling wisely says that what entitles his wounding in the battle of Moira to be reckoned among the memorabilia of that event "is not [as the story would have it] the removal of his brain of forgetting from his head, but all that he left after him of good workmanship of books in Ireland."

Eoin Mac Neill.

IRELAND'S SOURCES OF POWER SUPPLY

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III.—Peat Resources[1]

The Winning, Preparation, and Use of Peat in Ireland. (Fuel Research Board. 1921. 3*s.* net).

Report on Peat. (Irish Commission of Inquiry. 1921. 2*s.* 6*d.* net).

IN the Report of the Irish Peat Committee, published by the Fuel Research Board, the item of information which will probably most surprise the average Irishman is that 6,000,000 tons of air-dried peat or "turf" are used annually in Ireland. The figure is an estimate, but a careful estimate. It is computed that in the province of Connacht 2,300,000 tons of peat are consumed annually as against only 106,122 tons of coal (apart from coal for railway purposes). Practically the whole of this peat is used for domestic purposes; at present peat plays no active part in Ireland's industrial power supply.

Some 3,000,000 acres of Ireland are covered by peat bogs. The Committee estimates the contents of these bogs at between 3,000 and 3,500 million tons of anhydrous peat, or 4,000 million tons of air-dried peat. It is estimated that this fuel reserve, if it could be utilised, would meet the total fuel requirements of Ireland for 250 years at the present rate of consumption. It is clear that in her bogs Ireland possesses a huge fuel reserve, and that the problem before her is how to render that reserve available for use in a manner which will enable it to compete with power from other sources.

The Problem of the Bogs.

The peat of the Irish bogs contains from 90 per cent. to 95 per cent. water. Handling the raw peat is thus

[1] For Water Power and Coal Resources see issue of March, 1922.

equivalent to handling alleged coal which is nine-tenths rubbish and one-tenth coal. This is the great stumbling-block to the use of peat for power. Peat utilisation involves three main steps or processes: (1) *the drainage of the bog*, (2) *the economic harvesting of the peat*, and (3) *the economic production of power from the prepared peat*. From the agricultural point of view there are two problems—to utilise for agricultural purposes the drained virgin bog, and to utilise the land left when the peat has been removed.

The Irish Bog Commission, 1809-14, dealt exclusively with the reclamation of virgin bog for agricultural use. It did excellent work, and its surveys prove that at least 75 per cent. of the Irish bogs are so situated that they could be drained by gravitation without having recourse to pumping.

Drainage of an Irish bog is stated to have the effect of reducing the water contents only from, say, 95 per cent. to 89 per cent. This seems difficult to believe at first sight, but much must necessarily depend on the drainage methods employed. If a sod of peat is dug out and left to dry naturally, the water is reduced from 90 per cent. to about 25 per cent. It may reasonably be assumed that if the bog drains could be cut so as to leave the equivalent of large peat sods with five sides instead of six—by longitudinal and cross drains—the water contents should be reduced to a much lower figure than 89 per cent. The cost and the effect of this type of drainage need investigation.

For agricultural work effective bottom drainage is all that is needed, and there are several Irish and other bogs which have been drained in this way and used for growing crops.

Economic Peat Harvesting.

Peat is harvested from the bog either by hand or by machinery. Practically all the six million tons of peat used in Ireland are cut by hand. Machines generally

cut or dredge out the peat, macerate it, and press it into sods. The sods when obtained can be dried by spreading them out to the wind and sun, or they can be artificially dried; but the artificial drying or carbonising does not seem to have much to be said for it. The British Government ran a carbonising plant in Dumfries during the war, but appear to have succeeded in keeping dark the results.

Machinery is also used for transporting, spreading, collecting, and stacking the sods. There are many different types of machines for all these purposes, and a great deal of experimental work has been carried out in many countries; but no results seem to have been obtained of a sufficiently definite character to determine the most suitable class of machinery for dealing with Irish peat. This subject still needs considerable experimental and research work.

One thing which considerably handicaps peat harvesting for power purposes is the enormous amount of bog surface required for winning any large quantity of peat and spreading it out to dry. The Peat Committee reckons that for an output of 100,000 tons per annum 1,200 acres would be needed for drying and stacking ground.

Economic Utilisation of Peat.

For the production of power, the peat, when harvested, can be used as fuel under steam boilers, similarly to coal, or it can be turned into gas, as coal is turned into gas, and used for driving gas engines or for burning in steam boilers. If the peat be burned direct, all the by-products are burned and lost. Consequently gasification, with recovery of the by-products, is undoubtedly the most economic way of using the peat. Furthermore, peat for power gas does not need to be nearly so dry as peat for direct firing.

The principal by-product from peat gasification is sulphate of ammonia, which is very valuable as an agricultural fertiliser and for which there would be a good

demand in Ireland. The by-product recovery would seem to be a very important factor in peat utilisation; at the German peat power station of Schweger Moor it was originally claimed that the income from the by-products practically paid the costs of running the plant and left the power gas cost free. Later reports were not so satisfactory. It is very difficult to estimate with any accuracy, on the available data, to what extent by-product recovery would cheapen the power gas. So much depends on the composition of the peat and the market for the sulphate that only actual trials with a suitable Irish installation can give reliable results.

On account of the considerable cost of transport it is generally agreed that the peat for power purposes should be utilised in power stations on the bogs, and that the power generated should be transmitted to its destination as electricity. There are several such peat electricity works in Germany and Italy, some using gas engines and some steam engines. In Ireland a fair-sized power station, fired with peat and consuming some 6,500 tons per annum, is run by the Marconi company at Clifden.[1] At Hamilton Robb's mills in Portadown all the power is derived from peat, of which some 3,000 tons per annum are used. The peat is turned into gas and used in gas engines, without by-product recovery plant. Robb has a large bog and harvests his own peat. It is interesting to note that the power station is not on the bog, but at the mills, and that the peat is transported twelve miles by water from the bog to the mills. Robb has found that under those conditions his power works out substantially cheaper than it did with imported coal.

An array of interesting cost figures is given in the Peat Committee's Report. Although many of them are hypothetical, there is nevertheless a very evident case for peat for power purposes. The main factor is the cost of harvesting the peat. Two years ago, when

[1] This wireless station was wantonly destroyed on July 25.

steam coal cost 50s. to 60s. a ton, there was no doubt as to the ability of peat to compete with it. To-day with coal nearer to 20s. a ton and wages at practically the same figure as two years ago, the case is obviously different and calls for much closer investigation.

As regards the use of peat for domestic purposes the fact that six million tons of peat are used in Ireland every year is plain proof of its ability to compete with imported coal in a great part of the country. Whether it can compete with coal on the eastern seaboard is another matter; but it is noteworthy that even in Dublin a fair quantity of peat or "turf" is used for domestic purposes.

Peat Committee's Recommendations.

The Peat Committee deals with two aspects of the peat bog problem—the utilisation of the peat for power and the utilisation of the bog, whether virgin or cut away, for agricultural purposes. The Report states: "We consider the agricultural treatment of the bog lands as an essential part of the peat winning scheme." A well-known peat power enthusiast once compared the agricultural use of virgin bog to the utilisation of a coal mine by growing cabbages on it. Whilst not agreeing with this view, and whilst recognising the importance of the agricultural utilisation of the peat bogs, it is not quite evident why the agricultural reclamation of bogland should form an essential part of peat power development. Investigations in other countries, notably in Holland and Germany, have proved the feasibility of the agricultural utilisation of bogs. In Ireland, however, there is such an amount of rich agricultural land yet untilled that the tilling of boglands is not a very pressing proposition. It is not clear, therefore, why the urgent power question should be indissolubly wedded to the agricultural question. The one point which is common is the fact that a preliminary to investigatory work in either sphere is the drainage of the bog. The Committee

seems to have had in mind the labour difficulty which will result from the fact that the process of winning peat for fuel lasts only six months of the twelve. It aims at making the agricultural work supplementary to the peat getting; but the Agricultural Committee fairly enough points out that some of the same six months are required for agricultural work as for peat harvesting. The Peat Committee has perhaps gone a little outside its terms of reference; at any rate the power aspect of the peat problem is one which is the main concern of this article.

The original recommendations of the Committee were briefly as follows :—

(1) That the State purchase full control of a bog of some 10,000 acres, to provide for harvesting 100,000 tons of peat per annum.
(2) That an authority be set up to control and run the proposed scheme.
(3) That systematic drainage of the bog be carried out.
(4) That different standard types of electrically driven peat-winning and labour-aiding machines be installed in order to determine the most suitable type.
(5) That portion of the cut-away and of the virgin bog be prepared and utilised for agricultural purposes.
(7) That powers be granted for the distribution of electricity.
(8) That an electro-chemical process load be provided for the utilisation of portion of the electric energy generated.
(9) That experiments be carried out on the physical and chemical properties of peat in relation to drainage of bogs, and on improvements in the methods of drying and utilising peat.
(10) That dwellings be provided for the necessary labour.

The British Research Board considered the Irish Committee's recommendations and decided that a case had been made out for the establishment of a research station to determine the best methods of drainage, transport, and mechanical peat harvesting. Beyond this point they were not prepared to go, and they feared that the Peat Committee's recommendations, if published, would give the impression that they advocated the installation of a large peat electric generating station without having first carried out the investigating work

necessary to place such a scheme on a sound commercial basis. The conclusion would be "that the Committee had given its unconditional support to the imperfectly thought out schemes of certain electrical enthusiasts."

The Board and the Committee had a conference, and the Board apparently convinced the Committee of the soundness of the criticism of the original recommendations. Subsequently the Committee submitted modified proposals of a peat experimental station "on a moderate but practical scale." The things which appear to have been cut out were the "Authority," the public electricity supply, the electro-chemical load, and the combining of peat research with agriculture. The control was to be exercised by a deputy Director appointed from London by the Fuel Research Board, and there was to be an Irish Advisory Committee. The agricultural portion of the research work was to be left to the Department of Agriculture. A sum of £100,000 was to be devoted to the project.

The position as regards control has now changed with the change of Government, and the work would naturally come under the control of the proposed Irish Power Department. The agricultural work should be left to the agricultural authorities, as nothing but harm could be done by having the power people meddling with agriculture or the agriculture people with power.

The elimination of the powers to supply electricity had something to be said for it, as plunging into any large electricity supply scheme would be unwise until the peat-winning problem had been solved. The proposed Power Department will have the necessary powers to supply electricity if they care to exercise them. Possibly the electric generating station proposed will give scope for investigating the power problem. It is certain, however, that the station will need to be considerably larger in order to make the proposition of a commercial size for either by-product recovery or chemical work. Nothing is said in the revised recommendations about

by-product recovery plant; but it may be taken for granted that this is included, as it is essential that the question of by-products should be thoroughly investigated.

The electro-chemical process load should also be included, both because a steady load will be beneficial to the generating station costs and because the production of nitrates or cyanamide for fertiliser and other purposes is such an important question that it merits special investigation, and it would doubtless form an integral portion of any subsequent bog exploitation scheme.

A further good point of the Peat Committee was that the investigation of the several branches of the peat problem should be carried on concurrently, that it was not necessary to fully investigate the drainage question before proceeding to the questions of peat getting, peat utilisation, power supply and the electro-chemical processes. Much of the work can be carried on concurrently, and in this way much valuable time will be saved. All engineers who take a real interest in the subject are convinced that the bogs can be efficiently drained, that the peat can be economically harvested, that the peat can be utilised for power, that with cheap power there will be the possibility of nitrate manufacture and other electro-chemical processes, and that there will be a certain demand for cheap power for general purposes. The investigatory and experimental work is not for the purpose of discovering whether these things can be done, but rather for the purpose of determining the best and cheapest way of doing them.

The policy of *festina lente* is a sound one, but the second word must not be too strongly emphasised.

The Committee estimate that an expenditure of approximately £100,000 will be necessary for the proposed scheme of investigation and utilisation, and that this money should be provided by the Government. Some of the figures, notably those for power plant and buildings, seem considerably under the mark. If the

various questions are to be fully investigated a million would not be an excessive sum for the work. And if the result of the investigation work is to render Ireland independent of imported fuel, to prove that a vast area of the country now lying waste can be profitably employed, and that the climatic conditions can be materially improved, everyone will admit that many millions would not be too dear a price.

Owing apparently to delay in printing, the *Report on Peat* of the Irish Commission of Inquiry into the Resources and Industries of Ireland came to hand only after this article had been written. It is, therefore, not possible to review it in any detail. The main point of interest is the fact that there is no serious difference of opinion between the Peat Committee and the Commission. The Commission's Report is a much fuller and more detailed document; it forms a very complete and valuable contribution to the literature on the subject. Very interesting particulars are given of several large peat stations, with and without recovery plant, in Germany, Russia and Italy.

The recommendations of the Commission are in the main somewhat the same as the recommendations of the Peat Committee. More emphasis is, however, given to power production than to agricultural utilisation. Furthermore, experiments are recommended with a view to rendering peat-harvesting independent of the seasons, and the erection of a large peat power station—using, not gas engines, but steam boilers and steam turbines—is advocated.

In advocating the starting of a large peat power station the Commission joins issue with the Fuel Research Board. As has already been suggested, the power station recommended in the Peat Committee's amended report would be too small to give any proper scope for investigating the possibilities of by-product recovery or of nitrate production on a commercial scale. On the other

hand 20,000 kilowatts, the size suggested by the Commission, would probably be unnecessarily large as a commencement.

The facts and figures which the Commission publishes concerning peat power-generating stations in Europe would lead towards the general conclusion that peat as fuel for large power stations has not yet made good its position. The German power works at Wiesmoor, with a plant capacity of some 21,000 kw., have apparently developed into a half peat and half coal station. The Moscow works of 10,000 kw. capacity were evidently working successfully for some time, but no detailed particulars are available. Both these works used peat direct as fuel for steam boilers. The by-product recovery works appear to have fared worse than Wiesmoor and Moscow. Orentano in Italy was quite a small works, and it is difficult to determine whether its results would encourage or discourage effort in a similar direction. Codigoro, also in Italy, has ceased to operate. Schweger Moor in Germany gave results which are not regarded as encouraging, and the power part of this enterprise now depends on coal.

The smaller peat power plants seem to have been much more successful, and the Commission is on safe ground in suggesting that the use of peat for small producer gas plant in the vicinity of the bogs should be encouraged.

The inevitable deduction from the published facts and figures is that peat power production on any large scale in Ireland will at first be in the nature of experimental investigation work, carried out by the State, and that such power production is not yet a definite commercial proposition. This conclusion is not necessarily a discouraging one. Even if the investigation work should require a considerable expenditure of time and money, it is necessary national work, and it will ultimately pay a good dividend. Power from peat will undoubtedly form part of the future national power supply, but the time has not yet arrived.

LAURENCE J. KETTLE.

CHRONICLE

I.—The Tercentenary of the Bollandists

BY AUBREY GWYNN, S.J., M.A.

THE *Acta Sanctorum*! We all of us have heard of the world-famous publication, some of us have even seen the sixty-odd volumes of the series on a library shelf; fewer still are those who have ventured to consult it, and fewest of all those who have known how to use it intelligently. And now, for the equal benefit of all four classes of readers, Father Delehaye, the present captain of the tiny company of Bollandist pioneers—they are seldom more than four or five—tells us in a small and eminently readable volume the story of the whole enterprise;[1] how it began, why it was begun, the lives of those who have made the work so famous, their successes and failures, the methods they used, and—last, but not least—what still remains to be done. Taking it all in all, it is a wonderful record of learning, industry and courage; a record well worth reading for its human interest alone. Add to that its value as a scientific statement of Bollandist aims and methods; for Father Delehaye knows his subject as few have known it before him, and writes with the enthusiasm of a genuine scholar. Yet, to my mind, the most significant thing about the book is the fact that a Protestant American University should issue a translation almost within a year of its original publication. That fact alone speaks volumes; it is a tribute, not only to the Bollandists in particular, but to Catholic science as a whole. For the aims and ideals of the Bollandists are common to all true Catholic scholars, and no one can read this book without feeling how little most of us have been taught as to the work done by the Church in fostering, often in creating, the sciences of which the modern world boasts so loudly. In one of his opening chapters Father Delehaye quotes a tribute from a German scholar[2] to the effect that "the prolegomena placed by the Bollandists at the head of their biographies are the first examples of the critical method applied to original sources." How many of our modern historians are conscious of that debt? And what percentage of our educated public would even tolerate the notion that critical methods of writing history began with an edition of lives of Catholic saints, undertaken from a strictly apologetic standpoint?

Perhaps it is hardly fair to begin a notice of Father Delehaye's book with this challenge to public opinion. For the book itself, though every

[1] *The Work of the Bollandists.* By Hippolyte Delehaye, S.J. (Princeton University Press. 1922. $2.50). This volume is a translation of the original French work: *A travers trois siècles: l'œuvre des Bollandistes* (Brussels, 1920).

[2] E. Fueter, *Geschichte der neueren Historiographie* (Munich, 1911), p. 328 (quoted by Delehaye, p. 30). See also on p. 226 of Fr. Delehaye's book an imposing series of testimonials from modern scholars, Catholic and non-Catholic alike.

line of it is a challenge to old-established intellectual prejudices, is written in no controversial tone. More than three centuries ago, when the Jesuits were still relatively speaking newcomers in Catholic Flanders, a young Flemish student began to spend his leisure hours in looking up manuscript *Lives of the Saints* in the libraries of Douai, Louvain and Antwerp. The *Lives*, with all their strange legends, were not always very edifying reading or perhaps it would be truer to say that they were too edifying; and the young student, now a priest, proposed to one of his superiors that it would be worth while to publish the more authentic and valuable of these *Lives*, so that the credulity of pious readers might not be too heavily overtaxed. The superior consented, and the young student, whose name was Rosweyde, set himself to the work. For a quarter of a century he laboured at his self-imposed task, and when he died in 1629, though no single volume of the *Acta Sanctorum* had as yet appeared, the foundations had been laid strong and sure. For, in 1616, Rosweyde had published his *Vitae Patrum*, a volume which the Bollandists recognise as the foundation-stone of their work, and at his death he left behind him a successor whose name was to become famous—Bollandus. From that day to this, man after man has set himself to the task which Rosweyde so lightly proposed; and the end is not yet in sight. Father Delehaye has only one aim in writing his book: to tell the story of those men's labour and leave the judgment to his readers. Controversy is silent before so impressive a record.

Controversy, however, has been from the start the life and soul of the whole Bollandist undertaking. We have said that their edition of the *Vitae Sanctorum* was conceived from a strictly apologetic standpoint. The statement may sound paradoxical, for the Bollandists are nothing if not scientific. But their principle has always been that scientific methods are the best form of apologetics, and experience has proved them right. To-day the principle sounds like an axiom; it was far from being an axiom in the 17th century. When Bollandus decided to extend the scope of Rosweyde's projected work and to publish, not a selection of the more valuable *Vitae Sanctorum*, but a complete critical edition of the whole extant literature, he little knew what a task he was bequeathing to future generations of Bollandists. The very vastness of the field thus opened out would have deterred a less bold man, but the vastness of the field was as nothing to the roughness of the ways which led across it. Once establish the principle that every document must be published and you are driven to the further principle that every document must be critically examined. *Hinc illae lacrimae*! Or perhaps we should rather quote Lucretius: *Quantum religio potuit suadere malorum*. For the enemies of the Bollandists have always been distinguished for their piety. Father Delehaye is at his best when he is telling

the story of the battles waged by one or other of his predecessors for the rights of free criticism, where principles of faith are not at stake; and it is evident that his favourite hero in these epic contests is Papebroch, most famous and most miraculously industrious of all Bollandists. Papebroch belongs to the first generation of Bollandists, being—together with his collaborator, Henschenius—a pupil of Bollandus himself. His published work begins in 1668, with the first volume of March, but it had been preceded by nine years of preliminary work, during which time the Bollandists suspended their publication, so as to bring out the new volumes on a plan fuller than had hitherto been attempted.[1] Then for thirty years a regular succession of folio volumes appeared with Papebroch's name on the title-page—18 in all—carrying the work down to the end of June. One of these volumes was put on the Index, and remained there—at least nominally—until the Pontificate of Leo XIII., who ordered it to be removed. But if Papebroch's enemies had had their way, the entire work would have been condemned by the Church. And why? Because Papebroch had been challenged by the Carmelites to state whether he really believed that their order had been founded by Elias and had replied, in the first volume for the month of April, that he did not; giving his reasons, too, in duly critical array. The result was a storm, neither the first nor the last in Bollandist history, before which Papebroch never flinched, but which has left its mark on the *Acta Sanctorum*. For the final censure was pronounced in 1700, and for the rest of the 18th century Papebroch's successors showed themselves more prudent and less critical than their great predecessor.

In addition to the external history of the Bollandists, Father Delehaye devotes two long and interesting chapters to a description of the methods which they have followed in their work. Those who have the habit or the good intention of consulting the *Acta Sanctorum* should read these chapters, which form a valuable supplement to Father Delehaye's earlier work on the methods of hagiographical criticism.[2] One or two points deserve special note. The most distinctive characteristic of the Bollandist work is the classification which they have adopted; neither chronological nor topographical, but according to the liturgical order of the feast of each saint. Father Delehaye is at no pains to conceal the disadvantages of this method, but his remarks as to its usefulness in the long run are well worth reading. Modern requirements have made

[1] The first two volumes of the *Acta Sanctorum* (January) appeared in 1643; the three volumes for the month of February in 1648. Then there was an interval of 20 years. The bibliography of the whole work, with its various editions, is very complicated, and Fr. Delehaye's final chapter on these bibliographical questions is one of the most useful portions of his book.

[2] *The Legends of the Saints* (London, 1907), translated from the original: *Les légendes hagiographiques* (Brussels, 2nd ed., 1906).

the method more cumbersome than ever; but they have been met by the publication of various supplementary volumes, mainly catalogues of MSS., and by the foundation (in 1882) of the quarterly *Analecta Bollandiana*, in which most of the research work done by the Bollandists in recent years has been published. In consequence the steady succession of folio volumes has grown slower; the three last, in which all the standards of modern criticism have been rigorously applied, cover only the first eight days of November, and have appeared at irregular intervals during the last thirty-five years. But the slower the rate of publication, the better the volume when it finally appears, and Father Delehaye is careful to point out that the sixty-three volumes of the whole series are by no means of equal value. His own estimate is worth recording: that the 18 volumes to which Papebroch contributed (March to June inclusively) are the high-water mark of Bollandist achievement. The preceding five volumes are more experimental in character; the volumes (July to September inclusively) published before the suppression of the Society in 1773, though less brilliant, maintain a high standard of excellence; then come three volumes published hastily and under difficulties during the years immediately following the suppression; and eight volumes of unequal character published after the restoration of the work in 1838, and before its complete reorganisation by Father De Smedt in 1876.

It will be seen that the Bollandists, like the Society of which they are members, have had their period of suppression and restoration. Father Delehaye consecrates an illuminating chapter to this episode, and Irish readers will find an unexpected link with their own country in one of its incidents. Father Delehaye prints a curious letter from a certain P. F. de Nény, president of the Privy Council in Flanders, to Count de Cobenzl, Maria Theresa's Minister at Brussels. The letter was written a few years before the suppression of the Society and runs as follows: "M.V. . . . has begged me to recommend him to your Excellency for the post of superintendent of the Library of the Bollandists, for he is firmly convinced that the blessed fathers will soon clear away from our provinces. To give more weight to his request, he is ready to steal from the Library, and proposes to present to your Excellency the finest Pliny in the world . . . I, too, am to be repaid for recommending him by some Greek book or other which is extremely rare." To which the Minister replied on the following day: "Although M.V. . . .'s request is a bribe for you and for me, I accept it on the condition that I get as my share the fine picture by Van Dyck in the Sodality Hall."[1] The letters are characteristic of the spirit in which the Society was suppressed

[1] Delehaye, p. 158, quoting Piot: *Le règne de Marie-Thérèse dans les Pays-Bas autrichiens* (Louvain, 1874), p. 71.

throughout Europe, and one hopes that the Minister was disappointed in his expectations ; but it is sad to think that this P. F. de Nény, whom Father Delehaye is too polite to identify any further, was an Irishman. His real name was Patrick MacNeny, and it is under that name that he figures in the *Biographie Universelle* published in Paris by Michaud.[1] His father had come over from Ireland as a young lad of ten or twelve after the Treaty of Limerick, and had attended the Jesuit College at Louvain as a sort of sizar, sweeping out the class-rooms by way of earning a livelihood : a fact which the Jesuits seem later to have remembered, with a sort of grim satisfaction, when his son played a prominent part in the suppression of the Society in Belgium.[2] Patrick MacNeny, the elder, died in 1745, a distinguished advocate and universally respected for " his extensive knowledge and probity." His son profited by his father's industry, and rose, as we have seen, to be president of the Privy Council in Brussels ; the letter which we have quoted suggests that he would have done well to profit also by the example of his father's probity. The death of Maria Theresa in 1780 led to his retirement in 1783, and he died in 1784, leaving behind him a volume entitled *Mémoires historiques et politiques sur les Pays-Bas autrichiens.*

Fortunately for our national self-esteem, this is not the only connection between the Bollandists and Ireland. Bollandus himself, when a student of theology at Louvain, was a pupil of one of the Waddings,[3] and he was later to be the friend of even more distinguished Irishmen. Those who are interested in the history of Irish learning in the 17th century should read an article by the Bollandist Father Victor De Buck on the Irish Franciscan Convent at Louvain [4] They will there learn, along with a mass of other curious information, that the hey-day of Bollandist activity corresponded with the life-time of Colgan, O'Clery, Ward and the other great names of Irish Franciscan scholarship at Louvain, and relations were frequent between the two groups of scholars. These relations have been renewed in modern times. The first volume of the *Analecta Bollandiana* contained an edition by Father Edmund Hogan, S.J., of the Lives of St. Patrick by Muirchu and Tirechan,[5] and Father Delehaye has himself been a frequent visitor in Dublin of recent years. There is, too, no secret in the fact that the Bollandists would gladly devote more attention to Celtic hagiography than they have been able to do in the past, were

[1] Vol. xxxi., p. 63 (*s.v.* Neny).

[2] See Foley's *Records of the English Province S.J.*, vol. vii., p. xliv., where the name is wrongly spelt : Neuy.

[3] See Fr. Power's *Waterford Saints and Scholars* (Waterford, 1920), p. 49.

[4] *L'archéologie irlandaise au Couvent Saint-Antoine à Louvain* (*Etudes*, 1869)

[5] Reprinted as *Documenta de S. Patricio Hibernorum Apostolo ex libro Armachano* (Brussels, 1884).

their opportunities better than they are. But their working staff is always small, and Celtic hagiography is an enterprise of peculiar difficulty; it is interesting, by the way, to find that as early as 1648, Bollandus and his fellow-workers had realised that "the Irish saints ought not to be treated in the same way as the saints of other countries."[1] Materials are abundant in the libraries of Europe, but workers are few and encouragement rare. Were I writing in 1921, I should conclude this article by suggesting that the same ministry of Dáil Eireann which honoured itself by granting a subsidy towards the publication of Dr. Thurneysen's recent work, should offer similar assistance to the Bollandists for the purpose of research work in the field of Celtic hagiography; for the present Bollandist library, admirably equipped for work on Latin and Greek hagiography, contains but few books on Celtic subjects. But, alas! I am writing in 1922, and the ideals of 1921 seem already strangely remote. Perhaps some day a patriotic Irishman, if not a national government, will offer help for a work which badly needs doing, and which would reflect credit on all concerned with it. Readier and more capable workers than the Bollandists could certainly not be found.

AUBREY GWYNN.

II.—Spain in Her Literature

BY PROFESSOR GEORGE O'NEILL, S.J., M.A.

MAIN CURRENTS OF SPANISH LITERATURE. By J. M. Ford, Professor of Harvard University. (Constable. 1921. 15s. net.)
CAMBRIDGE READINGS IN SPANISH LITERATURE. Edited by J. Fitzmaurice-Kelly. (Cambridge University Press. 1920. 10s. net.)
OXFORD BOOK OF SPANISH VERSE. Edited by J. Fitzmaurice-Kelly. (Oxford University Press. 1920. 8s. 6d. net.)
SPANISH PROSE AND POETRY. By Ida Farnell. (Oxford University Press. 1920. 10s. 6d. net.)
SPANISH AND PORTUGUESE ROMANCES OF CHIVALRY. By Henry Thomas, D.Litt. (Cambridge University Press. 1920. 25s. net.)
SPANISH BALLADS. Chosen by Guy le Strange. (Cambridge University Press. 1920. 10s. 6d. net.)
SPANISH READER. Edited by Sanin Cano. (Oxford University Press. 1920. 3s. 6d. net.)

NOT long ago a book in two volumes and priced pretty high appeared in London. It was called *Thought and Expression in the Sixteenth Century.* Its survey of that century entirely ignored Spain and Portugal. Its author has no use for Suarez or Cervantes, for St. Teresa or Luis de Leon, for Camoens or Guevara, for *Don Juan* or *Don Quixote.* Such a book is an extreme but still too apt an illustration of the generally prevalent state of mind and feeling in England and English-speaking lands as regards the thought and literature of the Peninsula. Ignorance and indifference have prevailed, or, if not, have been replaced by one-sided knowledge and judgment full of prejudice.

[1] Delehaye, p. 47.

The recent crop of works dealing with Spain and its literature, of which several specimens are named at the head of these remarks, has testified to an increasing interest in their subject-matter and also (it must be admitted with satisfaction) to a growingly intelligent and unprejudiced manner and tone of treatment. We have not yet, it need hardly be said, reached perfection in this respect. There are touches and estimates in some of the pages we have been turning over which remind us that the England of John Bull or even the America of Uncle Sam cannot easily fall into one way of thinking with the Spain that was championed by the Cid and reformed by Ximenes.

But the outlook has widened: Spain, chivalrous, Catholic, what-not, with all that has gone to make it Spain, is at least faced more fully and fairly. Caricature is absent, partiality is less reckless and no longer rampant; the critic does not readily presume that what puzzles him (or her) is necessarily wrong or absurd.

Of the authors, editors or historians whom we have named at the outset, there is one of whom little need be said. Professor Fitzmaurice-Kelly is now an *emeritus* worker for the cause of Spanish literature among readers of English, but remains among the most active and helpful. His latest productions—those above specified—show him as still a leader in his chosen field.

Of the other books under review we should like to commend especially Mr. Ford's *Main Currents of Spanish Literature*. It does not, indeed, shine by literary brilliancy; but it is praiseworthy in its general grasp and clear exposition of its wide theme, in its soundness and balance of judgment, in its easy and pleasant style. So judicious, indeed, seems to us Mr. Ford's division of his subject that it shall be our guide in some brief remarks on the course of Spanish literature—remarks by which we hope at the same time to discharge our duties towards the other books that confront us.

His division, then, his "Main Currents" run as follows:—(1) The Poems of the Cid; (2) The heroic ballads; (3) Cervantes; (4) Drama and the Golden Age; (5) Culmination of the Dramatic Movement and Calderon; (6) Lyric Poetry; (7) The Novel; (8) Spanish-American Literature. It is a mapping-out to which obvious objections can be made, but we believe a more manageable and helpful scheme could not easily be devised.

Under the first two heads, the old romances and ballads are brought before us—so far as it may be done—by means of history, criticism and translated specimens. Noteworthy is the temperate discussion of the big "ballad question," which in Spain is almost bigger than anywhere else. The ballad-question is, of course, this (to put it roughly)—did ballads grow out of broken-down epics and romances, or did epics and romances grow out of swelling and combining ballads? A problem

which has posed itself in nearly every literature from that of Greece downward. We will at present go no farther into it than to say that it is stated, as regards Spain, adequately and fairly by Mr. Ford, and——very properly, no doubt—left where it was.

Other difficulties connected with the old romance poetry, such as the apparently damaged verse-form, are briefly and clearly discussed.

Among larger books on this ancient literary field, Mr. Le Strange's *Spanish Ballads* deserves commendation for the wide and accurate information which he gives (along with texts) on its special theme. Mr. H. Thomas's book on the *Romances of Chivalry* is a full-dress historical monograph, in which the foreign influences and connexions of the Romances are carefully studied. Interesting is also Mr. Thomas's long *catena* of evidences as to the good or ill (particularly the latter) reputation of the Chivalrous Romances among moralists, ecclesiastics and saints. It seems odd that while preachers and teachers were constantly denouncing in strong terms *Amadis de Gaula* and all its compeers, not one book of the tribe was ever condemned by the watchful Spanish Inquisition.

Important as is the place given by Mr. Ford to Cervantes, we can hardly consider that too much has been made of an author who summed up so much that went before him and led in so much that followed him. We are reminded that Cervantes was a poet, though indeed no eminent one—" more versed," as he ingeniously said of himself, " in reverses than in verses " ; that he did in a real sense put an end to the romances of chivalry in that wonderful consummation which he gave them in *Don Quixote ;* and that he was the pioneer of the " novela "—the characteristic short story of Spain, in his numerous lesser works of fiction. One may be rather amused at the title and claim of the " Novelas Exemplares," of whose " exemplary " character Mr. Ford writes : " One might as well read the *Decameron*, . . . Zola or de Maupassant for edification." Yet Cervantes himself could write, with every appearance of sincerity : " One thing I shall adventure me to say : that if by any chance it come to pass that the reading of these *Novelas* could tempt anyone who could peruse them to any evil desire or thought, rather would I cut off the hand that wrote them than bring them out in public." In these matters subjectivity is nearly everything. Cervantes is, however, on surer ground when he claims to be " the first to essay *novelas* in the Castilian tongue," some alleged precursors having been only imitators from foreign languages.

As to the subsequent influences of these tales of Cervantes, Molière, Fielding and (notably) Scott have been among those who have freely acknowledged their vital and germinal power.

In entering upon the study of Spanish Drama, one is presently sur-

prised to find that almost no specimens survive of a medieval religious drama, the flourishing existence of which seems, nevertheless, to be fully attested. There is an unsolved literary problem in this wholesale disappearance of the Spanish equivalents for the " mystery " and " miracle " plays of France and England. Those lost medieval plays were the direct ancestors of the admirable dramatic work of Lope de Vega, Calderon de la Barca, and their compeers. Indeed, with a notable completeness did the Spanish drama escape, as it grew to maturity, any contamination (if the word is not too harsh) from Renascence models or influences. The Spanish Drama became and remained thoroughly national. As such, it remained for nearly a century and a half (1550—1700) on a height of excellence not inferior (it may be justly claimed) to the national drama of any other land, ancient or modern.

In the special praise Mr. Ford gives to Calderon's *Autos Sacramentales* we willingly join. Astonishing is the skill (to use an inadequate word) with which the intrinsic difficulties of this form of art are overcome, are converted into beauty and perpetual variety. We are less inclined to echo the critic's applause of D. F. MacCarthy's translation of some of the *autos*. Assonanced verse seems totally unsuited to English ; to some readers at least it would seem that MacCarthy's verses would have been more agreeable had the assonances been all weeded out and mere blank verses left. It is doubtless better to read Calderon's *Autos* in MacCarthy's translation than not to read them at all ; but no English translation yet executed has succeeded in conveying, even imperfectly, their atmosphere of blended poetry, faith and fervour. The *Cambridge Readings* reproduce a great part of one—" La Cena de Baltasar."

The question of translation arises in connection with Miss Farnell's book of " prose and poetry with translated specimens." Like Mr. Ford in his " Lyric " section, she goes back to Juan Ruiz—the too unclerical arch-priest of the 14th century. With him comes into our ken the Serranillas—one of the most characteristic forms of Spanish poetry—a mould into which were poured a graceful natural pastoralism and more artificial later lyrisms. The popular " May I go with you, my pretty maid," finds its exact counterpart in more than one of the serranillas. From the 15th century comes, in contrasting music, the solemn *Coplas* of Jorge Manrique ; they have had the good fortune of being admirably Englished by Longfellow.

> O world ! so few the years we live,
> Would that the life which thou dost give
> Were life indeed !
> Alas, thy sorrows fall so fast
> Our happiest hour is when at last
> The soul is freed.

Some eighty such stanzas make up this ample and remarkable elegy, which appears in full in *The Oxford Book of Spanish Poetry*. But, to return to Miss Farnell's work as translator, her verses are in general of an even merit, a smoothness and a literalness which, with the other merits of her book, ought to gain it wide acceptance as an easy and pleasant introduction to Spanish literature. Here, as a specimen, may be given some stanzas from her version of one of St. John of the Cross's spiritual canticles :—

> Beloved ! Lord of mountains,
> Of lonely valleys and of leafy brakes,
> Lord of the gushing fountains,
> The islets and the lakes,
> The whispering breeze that amorous music makes,
>
> The foxes drive away !
> For lo, our vine is breaking into flower !
> A bed of roses gay
> Prepare within this bower ;
> Let none draw near us in this blissful hour !
>
> Withhold thee, northern blast !
> But come, thou south wind, and with wingèd feet
> To my fair garden haste,
> So that my Lord may eat
> His Love-Feast mid fair flowers and odours sweet.

We must pass over Mr. Ford's treatment of the novel, which, as he shows, has been largely a growth and development from the masterwork which had given the *coup-de-grâce* to its own predecessors, namely, *Don Quixote*. He reviews recent Spanish novelists (notably " Fernan Caballero " and Perez Galdos) with sound judgment. A more distinctive feature of his " Main Currents," however, and one calling for more attention, is that section dealing with Spanish-American literature.[1]

Surprising and unusual was the start made by Spain's colonial literature—nothing less than an epic poem, and this the best poem on a large scale written in Spanish during the " Golden Age." This remarkable effort was the *Araucana* of Alonso de Ercilla, who, having himself taken part in the wars between Indian and Spaniards which followed on the Spanish invasion of Chile, celebrated in verse modelled on that of Ariosto the scenes of active and varied life in which he had been an actor. The *Araucana* was praised by Cervantes in the preface to his *Don Quixote* and by Voltaire in his introduction to *La Henriade*, nor have these been its only notable panegyrists.

[1] Since the above was written a work, dealing exclusively with Spanish-American literature, has been published—*Spanish Colonial Literature* in *South America*. By Bernard Moses. (Hispanic Society of America, 15s.)

Naturally the missionaries played a large part in the origins of the over-seas Spanish literature. In 1539, eighty years before the "Pilgrim Fathers" landed in Massachusetts, a printing-press was set up in Mexico, and there came from it the first book printed in the New World—a little Christian catechism, prepared by the first bishop of Mexico, Fray Juan de Zumarraga, in both the native Indian language and in Spanish. The fact that this manual was in part in the language of the aborigines is symptomatic—symptomatic of a spirit quite different from that of the "Pilgrim Fathers." In 1551 the same missionary influences obtained from the Emperor and the Pope decrees establishing Universities at Mexico and at Lima in Peru. Peru itself early produced the romantic historian Garcilaso de la Vega (1540—1616), who was the son of an Inca princess. In 1738 the Jesuits set up the first printing-press in Colombia, and since then—especially since 1850—Colombia had been notably fruitful of good writers. Scientific research has flourished there since 1768, when a famous Spanish botanist, Mutis, was appointed to a professorial chair in the capital city; while four years ago appeared a pioneer work on linguistic science—*La Semantica*, by the Jesuit Father Restrepo. Venezuela has produced in Andrés Bello (not to mention others) an excellent poet, who was also scholar, teacher and statesman; Argentina, a vigorous disciple of Victor Hugo in the journalist and poet Andrade; Cuba José Maria de Heredia, who wrote of himself: "The whirlwind of revolution made me in a brief period pass through a vast career, and, with more or less good fortune, I had by my twenty-fifth year [he died in his thirty-third] been a lawyer, a soldier, a traveller, a teacher of languages, a diplomat, a magistrate, an historian and a poet."

Finally, one of the most undisputed leaders of modern Spanish poetry is Ruben Darío, who is by birth a Nicaraguan. He counts among the chief modern masters of metre and of exquisite poetic expression. Influenced by Wagner's music, Darío took up eagerly the idea of the *leit-motif*, and, applying it to poetry, studied to give each poem its special musical accompaniment, the rhythm and tones appropriate to its poetic idea. Residing chiefly in Spain since 1892, he has since that date determined in no small degree the course taken by Spanish poetry. He has been the chief, but by no means the only, non-Spaniard who has helped to elicit new harmonies from a speech which already for many centuries has sounded forth as perhaps the noblest of human languages. Thus, in these many literary scions of her colonies, has the ancestral land recovered some of the wealth—of the soul and the spirit—which the best of her sons (intermingled with an inevitable baser sort) put out to interest in remote continents as heralds of the Gospel, of learning, and of art.

G. O'Neill.

REVIEWS

Archaeology

A TEXT-BOOK OF EUROPEAN ARCHAEOLOGY. By R. A. S. Macalister, Litt.D., F.S.A., Professor of Celtic Archaeology, University College, Dublin. Volume I. The Palaeolithic Period. Cambridge University Press. 1921. 50*s*.

THE besetting weakness of prehistoric archaeology is an all too evident eagerness to discover, not merely a continuous advance in accumulated skill and experience, but a concomitant development in the physical and mental endowment of man. It is evident that there is no such necessary association. Accumulation of mechanical skill, or even of mental and moral acquisitions in the individual, does not imply a permanent advance of mankind from one stage to another. The individual may continue to accumulate skill of hand or mental and moral acquirements while growing weaker in body or mind. Much more is this true of men in the mass. During the past century, perhaps more than in any preceding age, Europeans have made enormous advances in science and in the mechanical conquest of natural forces and resources; yet there is not the slightest reason to think that the whole composite race or any section of it has undergone a corresponding specific development or any appreciable specific development. Cut off from external recourse to what others have accumulated, the children of the most gifted modern Europeans could not produce for themselves the earliest known types of palaeolithic implements—not until they had travelled once more the primeval road of experience. From this the conclusion is plain—the difference between a pre-Chellean chipped flint and a "1922-model" automobile is no proof that a motor mechanic of 1922 inherits any physical or mental superiority to his pre-Chellean ancestor.

There is another view of this matter which does not appear to have received attention, if one may judge from the summary of the subject presented on behalf of the archaeologists. The "Text-book," page 62 seqq., gives a list of "the most important of the mammalian fauna (exclusive of Man) found in Europe in deposits dating from the end of the Pliocene to the end of the Pleistocene." The Pleistocene period is the earliest in which the appearance of Man is said to be ascertained. Of the animals in the list some are of species long extinct; others are of species still extant, coexistent with Man throughout his whole

archaeological history. The biologists do not appear to assert, much less to demand *a priori*, any degree of evolution whatsoever in any one of these species within this whole period of coexistence. The Pleistocene *canis lupus* is "the common wolf" (p. 65), the Pleistocene *hippopotamus amphibius* is "the still surviving hippopotamus" (p. 74); and so with many other species. We hear nothing of enthusiastic search after a *Canilupus precursor* in the Pleistocene deposits, nothing of an *Eohippopotamus* contemporary with an alleged *Eoanthropus*. Of Man in the Lower Palaeolithic stages, Dr. Macalister seems to state a true scientific finding in these words (p. 282): "He was certainly a fully developed Man, capable of progress in such arts as he had evolved." The second clause is not to be read as indicating a limitation. The fingers of a fully developed Man were capable of manipulating with exquisite skill the strings of a violin or the keys of a piano, and he was a potential musician long before men had evolved the art of instrumental music. There are peoples now mighty in science whose ancestors in historic time were rude barbarians; yet the scientist was latent in the barbarian. Man's capacity is ahead of his experience.

The record of the Middle Palaeolithic Period shows that Man could fail to sustain even a primitive progress. With a retrogression in manual skill is associated a brutal and inferior cranial type. Is not this also likely to be a retrogression? Instead of being primitive, instead of representing an early stage in the ascendant development of Man, the skulls of the Middle Palaeolithic cavemen may have been preceded by a far higher cranial type. In fact the crania claimed as Lower (*i.e.* earlier) Palaeolithic are of far higher type; but no effort is spared to throw doubt on their antiquity. The extreme instance (p. 183) is that of the skeletons of Castenedolo in Lombardy:—

> Here were found the bones of a man, a woman, and two children, embedded in a Pliocene stratum. They were unearthed by a competent geologist, Ragazzoni, in 1860, and examined by a competent anatomist, Sergi. There is thus no element of irresponsibility, such as is conspicuous, for instance, in the case of the Calaveras skull. The Castenedolo deposits, whatever we may think of them, have to be treated seriously. *But there must be something wrong somewhere.* In the first place, the skeletons are in all respects modern in their type. There is, says Keith, "not a single character we can identify as primitive." Now, if they really belonged to the stratum in which they were found, this would imply *an extraordinarily long standstill for evolution.* It is much more likely that there is something amiss with the observations—*quandoque bonus dormitat Homerus*—than that people so highly advanced in physical and mental development *should have been contemporary with any phase of mere Eolithic culture.* . . . On the one hand we are asked to believe in eoliths; on the other we are introduced to highly advanced and intellectual people like those of Castenedolo. *The two are incompatible.*

Dr. Macalister proceeds to state grounds for believing that the skeletons of Castenedolo were not contemporary with the Pliocene deposits, but were interred therein at some later time; and the arguments stated or cited by him appear reasonable enough. They are, however, incomplete. If the skeletons were of the Pleistocene period, the fact that they were of as modern type as a Pleistocene wolf or a Pleistocene hippopotamus would not warrant the assumption of a development in the human species such as is not found in other species of mammals. One of "the principles of Upper Palaeolithic burial" (p. 501) is that "the dead were buried with weapons, ornaments, and implements that had been of use to them during life." No such "grave goods" seem to have been found with the Castenedolo skeletons. Even of the savage Mousterian of the Middle Palaeolithic Period, we read (p. 343) that, "as his comrades passed, each in his turn, into the silent land, he laid beside their bodies such things as he imagined would minister to their necessities in the mysterious otherworld." It seems still quite open to us, on the evidence before us, to regard these skeletons of modern type as belonging to the Lower Palaeolithic Period. As to the probable period of their interment, Dr. Macalister's argument is silent.

Reviewing the whole case presented to us, we are bound to conclude that not even a degree of probability is established for the assumption of the development of a higher from a lower human type within the whole scope of time covered by archaeological discovery. At least a possibility of retrograde variation is indicated in the Middle Palaeolithic period by the various finds of low skulls with massive bony ridge above the eyes.. But this type was *immediately* succeeded (p. 385, etc.) by "a tall, well-developed, and big-brained race," which came into Western Europe from elsewhere, and which, therefore, in its earlier habitat was presumably as ancient as the low-grade Mousterians. The latter inhabited regions which intense glacial conditions had reduced to the state of a physiographical slum, and they themselves may have been a mere degenerate remnant—degenerate perhaps, not through the hardship of their surroundings, but through the migration of the people of normal type to places of better climate.

If we are to admit that "eoliths" and high intellectual capacity are incompatible, it must be on the ground that the human intellect has attained its development through being exercised on the production of flint implements and similar apparatus. But it is surely of universal experience that very high skill in manual processes is compatible with a very low intellectual grade. We

might even go farther and say that people of low intellectual capacity are apt to concentrate their limited mental faculties on the exercise of manual skill.

For the whole Palaeolithic Age the evidence is mainly derived from gravel beds and caves. This, however, does not prove that gravel beds and caves were the only habitats of Man, or even his normal habitats. They preserve the evidence because they were suited to preserve it. From historical testimony we know that in Ireland, throughout the early and medieval historical period, people in general dwelt in wooden houses. During that period, millions of such houses must have been built. Not a single one of them remains. A wholly exceptional and inferior class of dwelling can, however, be still found in various stages of preservation—the clochán or " beehive " stone hut ; and the peculiarity of site has also enabled us to recover traces of habitation in crannógs. If archaeology were not supplemented by history, it might well appear that the clochán and crannógs, whose number in comparison with the ordinary wooden dwellings must have been extremely small, were the typical and almost exclusive abodes of the people. It is fairly certain that throughout most of the Palaeolithic, Mesolithic, and Neolithic Ages, the chief structural material was wood, and that skill in the erection of wooden structures and the making of wooden implements (all these things being perishable) kept pace with skill in the manufacture of stone implements. In the Middle Palaeolithic Period, under glacial and subglacial conditions, wood of greater growth than stunted shrubs was scarce ; and this may explain the decline of the flint-worker's craft. During this period, it is likely that, even as now in treeless regions, the typical dwellings were huts covered with vegetable fibre or skins. Too much may be made of Man's fear of wild animals. Most of these, even the most fierce and powerful, shun the encounter with Man.

Another feature of the Palaeolithic record, as we find it, is that it is almost wholly derived from inland stations. It is quite possible that the coasts were much more thickly inhabited, but the record seems to have been destroyed by the encroachments of the sea (Text-Book, pp. 40, 41). In the Middle Palaeolithic period, the plains of western Europe being reduced to tundra, the seashore must have been at once more temperate in climate and more abounding in a constant food-supply, therefore better inhabited ; and this affords a further caution against accepting as typical the evidence of the Mousterian caves and rockshelters.

It is not until the last great glaciation has disappeared and a temperate climate has returned to Europe that evidence of human

life in variety and detail begins to be found. The degenerate Mousterians are then replaced by a population which is cerebrally and otherwise equal or superior to the modern European average. From the absence of any intervening stratum in the deposits, it is inferred that this new population is of invaders from elsewhere. Consequently the archaeological history of western Europe is like the written history of Tasmania. It is the story of an aboriginal population which becomes extinct, and of a new population which has no past in this region. But there is a difference. The earlier history of the new occupants of Tasmania is well recorded, whereas the earlier history of the Upper Palaeolithic immigrants of western Europe is a blank. The newcomers also are pictured to us as cave-dwellers. Caves and rock-shelters are not ubiquitous and are not portable, so that an immigrant population, though these places be inhabited, must have learned some other manner of dwelling. In this age again, the archaeological data cannot well be typical and normal. As to the probable sparseness of population at this or any earlier period, it does not convince us to be assured on the authority of Sir J. Lubbock that the hunter requires a minimum of ten square miles for his support. Ten longitudinal miles of river or seashore would probably yield sufficient animal food to support a household. But Man is not exclusively carnivorous except under necessity, and throughout the record he has preserved a distinctively frugivorous dentition.

To the ordinary reader, the most interesting revelation of modern archaeological research is found in the remains of Upper Palaeolithic art, of which Dr. Macalister has provided a copious supply of excellent illustrations. This art is in a variety of kinds : fully modelled carvings, carvings in high relief, figures in outline, paintings in colour, conventional stylism, and abstract ornament. It is evident that these discoveries have disconcerted *a priori* dogmatists of continuous physical and mental development. The art of this period exhibits real artistic perception and real artistic power and skill. But, while it is admitted that the Upper Palaeolithic artists must have delighted in their art, it is suggested that the esthetic motive is accidental and of small account. The real motive was " good hunting " by means of " sympathetic magic." Whether such transmillennial thought-reading is right or wrong seems as little *à propos* as a discussion whether Mr. Jack B. Yeats has drawn horses because he is an artist or because he has wanted to secure the material of food, clothing, and comfort. I appeal to the artists against all attempts to explain away the Upper Palaeolithic art. This art has a further threefold classification :

some of it is realistic, some conventional or "stylistic," and there is a third kind which deserves to be recognised and which may be classed as serious caricature. Of the realistic kind, Macalister points to the "browsing" reindeer (p. 76) as an outstanding specimen, but also rightly praises "the superb study of a head of a neighing horse" (p. 464). The reindeer is an engraving in outline with some skilful inner lines added to emphasize form and texture. The horse's head is a sculpture in ivory. This astonishing piece of work has been chosen to decorate the title-page of his "Manuel" by Déchelette, who calls it "tête de cheval hennissant;" it represents, however, the head of a horse in anger or pain, with the ears set back, the nostrils contracted, the mouth well open and the lips drawn back. A neighing horse has his ears set forward and his nostrils distended. If I labour the distinction, it is because the artist knew exactly what he wished to represent and how to represent it. He was indeed something of a sympathetic magician.

The element of caricature is well marked in many productions, sculptured, engraved, and painted. It consists in the exaggeration of distinctive features. That it is deliberate is proved by the sureness and verisimilitude of other parts of the representation. Sometimes the exaggerated trait is one of movement not of form; but the notion, of course, has to be expressed in terms of form, and this is often done with wonderful power. The great Alpera hunting scene is full of touches of caricature. All the men and women have impossibly long and slender waists, as have also the figures of the Cogul painting. Some sculptured figures of women show the contrary exaggeration, and, since the paintings imply that a small waist was admired, it seems impossible to separate the comic motive from these ridiculously pudgy sculptures. Possibly they were intended to represent enslaved "Mousterians." The animals are often caricatured, a probable originating motive being found in the limitations of the material, as when the end of a baton, like some modern handles of walking sticks, is carved into animal form (see pp. 66, 78, 79, 85, 86, 398, 417). The best modern caricaturists do not excel the combined economy and skill of outline exhibited in the drawing of a bear figured on p. 67. Again there was retrogression, and for thousands of years the people of western Europe did not recover the artistic perception and skill and power with which the Upper Palaeolithic "cave-men" were gifted. In the stencilled hands of the cave of Gargas, some 132 in number, I see no mystic meaning, remembering how this easy way of getting a good picture gratified a very youthful ambition. I do not know how the learned Abbé Breuil is able to distinguish right hands

from left hands in these stencillings, since the hand may be traced either with its back or its palm laid against the recipient surface—a possibility which enables the shortened fingers to be explained without invoking either leprosy or mutilation. However, the addiction of their descendants to tall hats, corsets, and the like disposes us to believe that the Upper Palaeolithic people may have been in some respects quite "primitive."

To those who base this people's art on sympathetic magic, one may offer the additional argument that the edible animals are almost invariably represented in "prime condition." Animal fat was no doubt doubly appreciated, for it must have provided the illuminant for the pictured caves. Pictures containing numerous human forms do not suggest a population of 0·1 to the square mile. The view is expressed that the caves, or some of them, were places of ritual, perhaps associated with feasts. If so, the normal abodes of the population were elsewhere in huts or tents. If the drawings on page 491 are typical, both tents of skin and huts of vegetable material were probably in use. Professor Macalister argues contra.

It is not possible here to do more than touch on some of the problems that arise to the mind in reading through this volume, which, under the modest title of a "Text-book," is a veritable cyclopedia of one of the youngest and freshest of the sciences. We feel that the author has a very comprehensive grasp of the material recorded in various languages. He has that understanding of the evidence that comes from long and intimate direction of first-hand research. He has a gift of clear and well-ordered exposition in a style which is never cloudy and often does not disdain to be homely. In matters of doubtful inference, which are omnipresent, he appeals to the jury—and it is this appeal that justifies some questioning from a juryman's standpoint. He endeavours to state fully and fairly the findings that he would reject or declare not proven. The reader will not hesitate to accept this work as a standard exposition of how the knowledge of prehistoric human life in Europe stands at the date of publication.[1] Prehistoric archaeology has risen far beyond the oldfashioned dry-as-dust antiquarianism and has become a brilliant science full of intense human interest. Indeed there is nothing in imaginative fiction or in the literature of travel and adventure, that stirs the imagination half so deeply as this succession of glimpses, clear in

[1] Dr. Macalister deals with prehistoric human life in Ireland in his *Ireland in Pre-Celtic Times*. I hope to review this work in a future issue.

part, cloudy in part, revealing nothing but in part, of human life in ages vastly remote and amid natural surroundings wholly unlike our own. EOIN MACNEILL.

Celtica

RÉILTHÍNÍ ÓIR, CUID A h-AON. An t-Ath. Seóirse Mac Clúin do Scríobh. Comhlucht Oideachais na h-Éireann. 1922. 5*s.* glan.

ÓIR-CHISTE Gaedhilge an leabhar so, na bhfuil glan-chiall a láin fhocal ó A go I ar n-a míniú as Gaedhilg. Féachadh duine isteach ann in aon áit is maith leis ; toghadh sé focal de sna focail is lugha ar a bhfuil cur-síos ag an Ath. Seóirse, agus ní mór ná faghfaidh sé cáithne éigin eolais i gcomhnaí. Ní foláir, uime sin, nó fuair an t-údar a lán dá dhuadh. Agus, sé an rud is lugha is gann dúinn uile, dá chionn, ár mór-bhuidheachas do chur in iúl dó,—rud do-ghním féin annso, mar le duine dhe. Obair thábhachtach atá déanta aige—Dia ghá bheannacha !—chomh fada is theigheann sí ; obair chuireas mór-chomaoin ar aos ghrádha na Gaedhilge ar fad maille le mórdháil agus tógaint chinn.

Chonnacas léir-mheas ar an leabhar so ó láimh scoláire áirithe nar ghearán sé an t-údar toisc nár tharraing sé chuige an Béarla ann ! Dhem dhó-sa, sé an buaidh is mó dá mbaineann leis an leabhar, a líomhthacht is a aibíocht chasann an t-údar an Ghaedhilg ar an nGaedhilg féin d'uascailt. Iompuigheadh sé, uime sin, cluas bhodhar ar gach comhairle dá leithéid. Ró-fhada cheana atá an Ghaedhilg fé'n ógláchas mhí-nádúrtha so ag an mBéarla, agus tá a shliocht go doimhin ar ar ceapadh le déanaí de litríocht Gaedhilge, gur tríd an mBéarla is mó do scagadh í. Dá dheasca san, níl dá luaithe ná dá mhéid chaithfidh an Ghaedhilg uaithe feasta an sean-cham-mhaide croise sin nach feairrde í féin is a litríocht é. Dá chionn so, in ionad an céim ar gcúl úd do dhéanamh, sé mholfainn féin dó leanúint den bhfoclóir fé mar atá sé leagtha amach aige, agus gan sos ná suaineas do ghlacadh go mbeidh foclóir glan-Ghaolach *iomlàn* curtha le chéile aige ar nós foclóra Littré sa bhFraincís, cuir i gcás. Maidir le caint Chiarraí is Cláir de, tá cloch bhuinn a leithéide leagtha go rí-mhaith aige sa leabhar so. Níor mhisté dhó, áfach, a réim-chrios do leathnú, tarraingt ar chaint na ndaoine "mor-thimcheall Éireann uile," maille le Gaedhilg na leabhar is na n-údar, dá mb'áil leis foclóir fír-eolaíoch, ar chuma foclóra Littré, do sholáthairt dúinn.

Trí gach scéal, nár mhó go mór snas na h-eolaíochta bheadh ar an obair aige, dá mb'áil leis comhartha éigin—réilthín cló, cuir i gcás—do chur leis na focla (*a*) do tugadh isteach ón mBéarla le seal, (*b*) ná fuil acht ar iasacht ag sna cainteóiri i láthair na h-uaire,

agus (*c*) a chaithfid uatha, le congnamh Dé, ar ball, a luaithe bheidh focail fhíor-Ghaolacha na n-ionad aca, de bharr na h-oiliúna sa teanga bheas i réim gan stad againn. Is dócha gur deoraí dár gcuid dílis féin atá iar bhfilleadh ar a thír dúchais é "bodaráilim." Ní faghfaoi, áfach, an t-éileamh céadna do chur isteach i dtaobh "bleaist," "bligeárd," "bhásta"—"giúmar" ná a thuille den treibh céadna. Ba mhór an ní, dar liom, an méid sin do thaisbeáint tré chomhratha éigin cló.

Mar le litriú dhe,—níl slí annso acht le h-aghaidh fo-chuspa. In "acfuinn," cuir i gcás, níor mhór an tara 'n' chum an guth-bhéil cruinn do chur in iúl. I bhfocla mar "achrann," "aifreann," "comhrann," is fíor gur cuma ann nó as sa tuiseal ainmneach an tara "n,"—don Mhuimhneach acht go h-áirithe. Acht mothófaoi gan stád an deifríocht sa tuiseal gheiniúnach. Níl acht aon "n" amháin i "gcanta." Ba chóir dhá cheann aca, áfach, do thabhairt do "buannacht." Óir, dem thuairim-se, ní le "buan" atá aon bhaint ag an bhfocal acht le "buanna." Na ceithearnaig do cuirtí ar buannacht i dtig, is amhlaidh dheinidís chomh dána san air gurbh ionann dá mhuintir buannaíocht is dánaíocht. Leas-ainm, fós, é "adhailseach" ar an míoltóig úd. Aillseach nó gaillseach a h-ainm dílis.

Tá a ndíol féin de mhola ag dul do Chomhlucht Oideachais na h-Éireann de chionn an leabhair; toisc a fheabhas a rinneadar a gcion féin den obair. Leabhar canta, gleoite, so-láimhseála seadh rinneadar de,—togha pháipéir ann, deagh-chló soiléir, soiléighte, fé chlúdach mhaisiúl, tairbheach lín-éadaigh.

Is togarach, mí-fhoidhneach sinn ag feitheamh le cuid a dó.

MICHEÁL MACCRAITH.

TEAGASG NA MÁTHARDHA. Le Seumas Ua Créag. Doire: D. G. Créag. 1921. 2*s.* 6*d.*

MO DHÁ RÓISÍN. Máire a sgríobh. Dún Dealgáin: Press Dhúin Dealgáin do chuir i gcló agus do chuir amach. 1922. 2*s.* 6*d.*

Is dócha go bhfuil fhios ag an saoghal Fódhlach gur chuir an Dochtúr Oirbhidneach Ó Domhnaill "*Crann Eithne*" ar bun i dTír Chonaill, bliadhanta ó shoin, agus go bhfuil sé mar ghnás ag go leór teallaigh sa Chondae sin gan aon fhocal acht Gaedhilg a labhairt ar feadh uair amáin an chloig gach uile lá sa mbliadhain.

Sé an fáth a bhí leis an gcleachtadh maith sin, ná gnás labhairt an bhéarla a bhriseadh ins na hathaireacha agus ins na máthaireacha gaedhealacha, agus chun iad a thabhairt isteach i ndiaidh a chéile ar a bheith labhairt na Gaedhilge go deas, nádúrtha, leis na páisdí,

sa dóigh go mbeadh sé in a gcumas, tar éis tamaillín gearr aimsire, oighreacht uasal na teangan a thabhairt dá gclann. Nílmid cinnte goidé mar atá ag eirighe leis an gnás maith sin, acht, má táthar dhá chur i gcleachtadh go dílis dúrachtach, níl baoghal ar bith nach gcuideóchaidh sé go mór leis an teanga a thabhairt ar ais a mbéal na ndaoine i dTír Chonaill.

Ba cheart go gcuideóch "*Teagasg na Mathardha*" go mór le "*Crann Éithne*" a sgaipeadh in áiteachaibh eile ar fud na tíre nach bhfuil chomh Gaedhealach le Tír Chonaill.

Níl aon mháthair cloinne (siùd is nach Gaedhilgeóir ó dhuthchas í féin) atá dháiríre a dtaoibh na Gaedhilge nach dtig lei, le congnamh an leabhair seo, "*Uair na Gaedhilge*" a chur ar bun ar leic a teallaigh féin—an sgoil is fearr sa domhan. Teidheann an túghdar, mar a déarfádh, isteach i dteach i dTír Chonaill, agus cuireann sé máthair a bhfuil togha na Gaedhilge aice, ag teagasg a páisdí. Tosuigheann sí ag léigeamh sgéilín deas, símplidhe, dóibh ; cuireann sí síos ar neithidhe agus ar rudaí aitheantais mór-tímcheall uirthe, agus déanann sí caismirt agus cur síos, ceart, céillidhe, ar na neithidhe sin.

Tá moladh mór tuillte ag an úghdar léigheannta fá ríar agus leagann amach an leabhair, agus fá chomh cliste agus chomh h-ealadhanta is tá sé curta le chéile. Ní furusda an leabhar a shárughadh. Molann muid go mór é, agus taitnigheann an leabhar comh maith sin linn, go mba mhaith linn é a fheiceál i láimh gach máthair cloinne ar fud na Fódhla go léir. Sé an t-aon fhocal clamhsánach atá againn le tabhairt, nár lean an túghdar go dlúth le leitriúghadh na teangan do réir foclóir Uí Dhuinín ; dá leanfadh bheadh an leabhar gan locht.

Admhuigheann gach Gaedheal go bhfuil Seumas Ua Créag ar dhuine do na sgríbhneóirí Gaedhilge is fearr i dTír Chonaill, agus nach bhfuil aon nduine i gCúige Uladh, ná go deimhin in aon Chúige eile i nÉirinn, atá chomh fada ag obair ar son na teangan leis-ean ; ná níl aon nduine, taobh amuigh de'n Athair Peadar é féin, beannacht Dé lé'n anam, a sgríobh an oiread leabhra Gaedhilge leis.

Le bliadhanta goiride anuas tá fear eile (nó bean) i dTír Chonaill, a thug "Máire" mar leas-ainm air féin, a bhíodh a sgríobh i "*Misneach*," a thasbáin go raibh féith na sgríbhneóireachta go láidir ann. Nuair a chualamar go raibh úrsgeul curta amach aige, chuir sinn go léir suim ann, agus ní rabhamar sásta nó gur cheannuigh sinn "*Mo Dhá Róisín*."

"Bhí dhá Róisín agam-sa, ceann dubh is ceann donn," arsa an t-úghdar, "agus gheobhainn bás ar son ceachtar aca" "Tá lúthgháir orm a bheith ag fághail bháis ar son mo dhá Róisín."

Chidhfear fios, fáth an sgéilín, ó na focla teócha, tír-grádhacha, sin a chuir an t-úghdar i mbéal laoich an leabhair, nuair a bhí sé ag fághail bháis, i mBaile Átha Cliath taréis troid "Seachtmhain na Cásga." Sgéal é seo fá íasgaire óg as na Rosaibh i dTír Chonaill a thuit i ngrádh le Róisín Donn, agus do réir mar bhí sé a tuitim i ngrádh le Róisín Donn, bhí sé san am céadna a tuitim níos doimhne agus níos doimhne, i ngrádh le Róisín Dubh. Bhí an grádh sin a fás go doimhin ó lá go lá go dtí ar deireadh shiar go bhfuair an Laoch óg calma bás ar son Róisín Dubh na hÉireann.

Tosuigheann an sgeul ag cur síos ar nithidhe a thuit amach i limistéar in aice le Coláisde Gaedhilge i dTír Chonaill, agus innsightear dúinn go deas faoi shaoghal mic-léighinn na Coláisde, agus fá bheatha agus fá shaoghal na ndaoine thar timceall na Coláisde. I measg na mic-léighinn bhí Máighistreás óg sgoile—í loma lán do ghrádh agus do ghean de'n teanga agus do gach nidh Gaedhealach eile dá mbaineann leis an ngluaiseacht oirdhearc sin. D'fhéadfai a rád le fírinne go mba oideamóir[1] ceart a bhí innti ar gach uile chaoi.

Íasgaire óg, Labhrás Óg O Baoghaill, is ainm de'n Laoch. Sí Róisín Donn a chuir Labhrás ag smaoineamh ar chúrsaoi na hÉireann i dtosach. Bhí an oiread sin do ghean agus do ghnaoi aige uirthe gur thosuigh sé ag fóghluim léigheann na Gaedhilge agus Stáir na hEireann Ní fada go bhfuair sé teisteas ó'n gColáisde Gaedhilge, agus an dá luath is fuair, chuaidh sé mar Mhúinnteóir Taisdeal go Baile Átha Cliath. Liostáil sé ins na hÓglaoigh i mBaile Átha Cliath, le beannacht Roisín Donn, agus nuair a ghlaodh An Piarsach ar na laochraoi laochda sin chun seasamh i mbeárna an bhaoghail Domhnach Cásga 1916, bhí Labhrás Óg Ó Baoghaill i láthair leis an mbeárna a tugadh dó féin a chosainnt, agus do rinne sé sin go curata, agus go calma.

Deireann ùghdar maith, léigheannta, go bhfuil "*Máire*" ar dhuine do na sgríobhneoirí is fearr i dTír Chonaill indiú; go bhfuil togha na Gaedhilge san ùrsgeul, agus gur ádhbhar áthais agus gliondair dúinn go léir an leabhar deas seo. Molann muid dóibh seo atá ós cionn oideachas na hEireann an leabhar a chur ar chlár na sgoile, agus molann sinn do gach Gaedhilgeóir an leabhar a cheannach. Má ghníonn, gheobhaidh sé luach a chuid airgid do Ghaedhilge mhaith Thír Chonaill innti, agus ní furusda Gaedhilge Thír Chonaill a bhualadh nuair a thagann sí ó bhárr chleite an té sin atá cliste ar an gcleite a chasadh mar atá úghdar "*Mo Dhá Róisín.*"

Tomás Ua Concheanainn.

[1] Idealist.

Economics

PRINCIPES d'ECONOMIE SOCIALE. By Valère Fallon, S.J. Louvain: H. Bomans. 1921. 8 *frs.*

THOUGH we do not believe that Père Fallon's volume will, or ought to, displace the standard text-books, English or French, at present in use, yet it is possible that the Catholic student of economics and social problems will find it a useful book to have near him for reference purposes. Whatever else it does, it certainly does give very clearly and fully the Catholic—or, perhaps better, a Catholic—point of view of the many economic problems of to-day. Consequently, it has a decided value as a standard or norm to which anyone who wants to know how far any particular solution of social difficulties squares with Catholic philosophy, can have recourse. Possibly this was the object the author had in view when writing his book, as his words in the preface seem to imply: "Nous l'offrons aussi à tous ceux . . . . qui cherchent à s'orienter dans l'étude de l'Economie politique et de la Morale sociale."

Père Fallon keeps to the fourfold division of his subject generally found in text-books, but very wisely adds a short appendix giving a brief résumé of the history of economic doctrines. And we may note here another very useful feature of the book—its extensive bibliographies. Probably the fact that this book embodies a course of lectures delivered in a University College to beginners, and that it was meant to be reinforced by oral teaching goes far to account for its conservative attitude.

In a section dealing with Capital we find a paragraph showing the causes or sources of the growth of capital. Now, we have picked this paragraph out deliberately, for an economist's attitude to the question of the formation of capital throws a flood of light on his attitude to the present economic system. "Le capital," writes the author, "naît (a) de l'épargne qui consiste dans une privation d'un bien mis en réserve et (b) de l'esprit de combinaison et d'invention . . . . On peut distinguer: A.—Les conditions favorisant surtout l'épargne: 1°) *production abondante* depassant les besoins; . . . . 3°) *moralité* qui amène le travail, l'ordre, l'économie, qui préserve de la dissipation; 4°) discipline et maîtrise de soi, traditions qui accoutument à renoncer à une satisfaction immédiate en vue d'un plus grand avantage à venir." Now we are not socialists, nor do we desire to accuse Père Fallon of cynicism, but we can very well sympathise with any socialist who becomes irritated on reading such language as the above. There can be no doubt, of course, that capital is accumulated by saving, or is the reward of abstinence. But the truth of G. B. Shaw's remark on this pheno-

menon ought to be realised by now and admitted by even the most Catholic-minded economist. "The savers," writes G.B.S., "it need hardly be said, are those who have more money than they want to spend; the abstainers are those who have less." This being admitted, the question at once arises how far those "who have more money than they want to spend" are morally justified in turning their surplus wealth into capital to produce further wealth, seeing that a very large percentage of people have not sufficient of the necessaries of life.

It is obvious, of course, that if the capital is used to produce more of the necessaries of life and to bring them within reach of an ever increasing number of people, that the moralist—and even the economist—can have no cause of complaint. But if the surplus wealth of the rich is used to build factories and make machines which will only produce luxuries, while a quarter of the population are hovering about the margin of starvation, then it is time for both moralist and economist to wake up; and our complaint is that Père Fallon does not seem to have woken up. We want to know has Père Fallon in the year 1921 nothing to say about the restriction of the accumulation of capital in private or public hands, and above all, about the use to which accumulated capital should be devoted? It is well to remember that the last eight years have seen a world war, a Bolshevik revolution, and enormous changes in the labour world.

The social problems have reached such a degree of intensity to-day that all timidity in formulating drastic solutions is unpardonable, and it seems to us that Père Fallon is too timid. However, we should not wish it to be thought that we fail to appreciate the many good qualities which his work possesses—"la clarté, la méthode, la sûreté de doctrine," as Cardinal Mercier puts it in a prefatory letter. We should translate the last phrase by saying that the doctrine was "safe"—too safe, we fear.

E. J. C.

EMPLOYERS' ASSOCIATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES. By Clarence E. Bonnett, Ph.D. London and New York: Macmillan. 1922. 18*s.* net.

THE age of free competition is rapidly giving way to the age of combination. The assumption of the classical economists that men will best pursue their own interests under a *régime* of free competition is being contradicted by experience, which teaches us that men everywhere to-day are seeking to replace competition

by combination. It has long been obvious that the best interests of the working class could be served, not by their bargaining as isolated units, but by their forming unions and associations for collective bargaining, and more recent years have shown us that employers are being driven to resort to similar methods. The old combination laws were designed to prevent combinations of masters as well as of labourers ; but we are liable to forget this, in the first place, because the law was not impartially administered—action on the part of employers was connived at which would not have been tolerated on the part of labourers—and, secondly, because, in the circumstances in which industry was conducted in the early part of last century, the need for combination by employers was not so urgent as for that by labourers. With the advent of the factory system and large scale industry, the general rule came to be that a single master employed a large number of workers, so that equal bargaining strength could be attained only by the latter forming an association which would enable them to act as one man. In other words, every employer was himself an association. With the development of trade unionism and the growth of the great federated unions the position in this respect has been reversed ; the workers gradually organised to such a degree that their collective bargaining power became infinitely greater than that of individual employers ; and the employing class was at last driven to imitating the methods of the working class in order to restore equality of bargaining strength. This new movement showed itself in the formation of the great associations of employers.

The aim of Mr. Bonnett's book is to describe these associations as they exist in the United States to-day. No apology is needed for such a volume, which fills a decided gap in our economic literature. While innumerable books have been devoted to workers' unions, those devoted to employers' associations are very few and far between, although the two matters are of at least equal importance. Mr. Bonnett defines an employers' association as "a group which is composed of or fostered by employers and which seeks to promote the employers' interests in labour matters." He states their aims to be "to defeat the unions' programme in whole or in part—on the whole, to crush unionism" ; and he divides them into negotiatory, combative or belligerent, and mediatory. "If it negotiates trade agreements with the union, it is called negotiatory ; if it combats closed-shop unionism in some form or manner, it is said to be combative or belligerent ; but if it acts as a mediator to induce employers or other associations to deal with labour organisations, it is designated as mediatory."

The greater part of Mr. Bonnett's volume is devoted to a description of the aims, constitution, membership and operation of a number of typical employers' associations in the United States. This part of the book is replete with first hand information of the greatest value, which, as far as we know, is not to be found elsewhere. Mr. Bonnett's purpose is descriptive and not dogmatic, but in his concluding chapter he allows himself the liberty of drawing some conclusions on the general trend of the industrial conflict in the United States. His conclusions are far from being optimistic or reassuring; on the contrary, he is of opinion that "no immediate or prospective solution is evident" of the conflict between capital and labour, and that "strong rival organisations threaten war rather than peace." The only hope that he can see of an actual physical struggle being avoided is that some outside power should assume the control of the ever-growing conflicting organisations of employers and employed. We have not the space to indulge all the reflections to which this valuable volume gives rise; and we must content ourselves with heartily recommending it to all who are interested in the most vital problem of modern economics.

G. O'B.

LABOUR: The Giant with the Feet of Clay. By Shaw Desmond. London: Collins. 1921. 10*s.* 6*d.* net.

LABOUR IN TRANSITION. By W. A. Orton. London: Philip Allan. 1921. 10*s.* 6*d.* net.

THESE two books are not very consoling reading for those who hope that the Labour Movement in England will prove to be a peaceful evolution towards a more equitable ordering of society.

Mr. Orton's book is a history of the development, industrial and political, of English labour during the war. He devotes special attention to the growth of the Revolutionary elements in the rank-and-file, the progress of the Building Guilds, and the rise and collapse of the Triple Alliance. In his Epilogue he insists that, though coercive action on the part of labour for political ends is shown to be hardly ever feasible, industrial disputes are likely to increase and to bring about a Revolutionary situation. As for Trade Unions, while he admits their utility in stabilising and even in sometimes improving the life-conditions of the workers, he finds that they are quite unable to keep up the real value of wages or to cope with the problem of unemployment; indeed he finds them incapable not merely of carrying out any constructive policy but even of intelligently discussing one.

Mr. Desmond, who evidently possesses a familiar knowledge

of the internal machinery of the Labour Movement, gives us a very caustic criticism both of its personnel and of its collective character. His thesis is that the I.L.P. Socialist leaders, though differing widely and even quarrelling fiercely among themselves, did infuse into the movement an idealism which was its principle of growth, and which not merely won for it in 1906 its 29 seats but has made inevitable its future progress to power. At the same time he regards this growing movement as a giant with feet of clay. The I.L.P. is no longer the engine drawing the long train of Trade Unionism after it; its leaders have degenerated or have been bought over. The vast mass of the Labour Party is now led—or rather presided over—by the official Trade Union leaders, elderly men with no idealism or even definite views as to any of the big issues that constantly confront them, men whose only principle is the keeping of their jobs, and whose only talent is tergiversation, procrastination and the hundred arts of the political engineer.

Mr. Desmond's forecast of the future is gloomy. Either there is a recrudescence and vigorous growth of the spirit of direct action, in which case a bloody and unsuccessful rising will put back the hopes of Labour for a generation; or Labour will get into office peaceably by sheer weight of votes. In this latter case the working classes, which have hitherto been deceived by false promises and tacitly encouraged to practise "ca canny" and even direct action, will be in no humour for obeying their leaders. Yet these leaders, urged by the responsibility of keeping the nation alive, will inevitably be forced to use coercive action, and a civil war will be the result. Mr. Desmond urges the necessity of a better education and a renewal of spirit in both leaders and men; but his suggestions as to the methods of bringing about these changes are vague and unsatisfying. L. McK.

History

DIE RÖMISCHE FRAGE. Dokumente und Stimmen. Herausgegeben von Prof. Dr. Hubert Bastgen. Erster Band (1917), pp. xiv. +468; Zweiter Band (1918), pp. xxvi. +864; Dritter Band (1919), pp. xx. +588. Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder.

The temporal sovereignty of the Holy See goes back to the break up of the Roman Empire in the West. It was firmly established in the eighth century, and was confirmed and increased in the thirteenth, while it was not till the end of the eighteenth century that attempts to deprive the Holy See of it began. These attempts gave rise to what is known as the Roman Question—a question which, though it has passed through many phases, still awaits a

satisfactory solution. That justice demands the restoration of the States of the Church to the Holy Father, there can be no doubt. No title could be clearer, no possession more legitimate, no spoliation more unjust, no protestation against unjust usurpation more constant. The solution, however, is not so easy. While there is no denying the justice of the claims of the Holy See, the claims of a united Italy having its capital at Rome, realized though they were through flagrant injustice, are so flattering to the national pride of Italians and have so won the sympathy and support of non-Catholics that they raise *de facto* serious obstacles to the satisfying of the just claims of the Holy See.

It is impossible to understand the Roman Question aright, if the relations of the Pope to the Kingdom of Italy are considered solely from the Italian point of view. The Roman Question is no mere internal question of Italian politics, but a question affecting the spiritual and even the temporal interests of at least 300,000,000 Catholics throughout the world—a question as international and universal as the Catholic religion itself. Catholics cannot but resent anything that hinders the freedom of their Church. Neither can the different States of the world which have large Catholic populations look on without apprehension while a single State like Italy attempts or is suspected of attempting to make the spiritual influence of the Church subserve the purposes of Italian policy. In former ages nations found that the most natural if not essential means of keeping the spiritual sovereignty of the Holy See independent of temporal Italian politics was to recognise the temporal sovereignty of the Pope; and no better plan has been yet devised.

Is it possible to reconcile these conflicting claims without sacrifice of truth, and honour, and justice? That the Italian government will renounce its unjust claims is unlikely, considering the antichristian forces on which it depends for its existence. Would it then be possible for the Holy See by a voluntary renunciation made for the sake of peace to secure such rights as would put it in almost as satisfactory a position as it was before the spoliation? Could the Church, or should the Church recede from the position taken up by Pius IX., viz., that "the States of the Church belong inalienably to the Holy See, and I will renounce none of them because it is not allowable for me to give up that which guarantees the freedom and independence of the Vicar of Christ." Such is the essence in brief of the Roman Question. Many solutions have been proposed. Some have hoped for a complete restoration of the States of the Church; others would be satisfied with an extension

of the privileges contained in the Law of Guarantees, confirmed by international sanction. Some have proposed the setting apart of a small territory round the Vatican including the right side of the river; others a corridor running from the Vatican to the sea under the Pope either as independent Sovereign or as private owner. But the radical difficulties always remain. There can be no reconciliation while Italian Masonry pursues an anticlerical policy. There can be no solution if room is left for the suspicion that the Vatican is subservient to Italian politics; for, as Pope Julius II. expressed it, "the Pope must not become a mere chaplain to a King of Italy." No dogma of faith is really involved. The right of the Pope to the restoration is unquestionable; the expediency of the same for the proper functioning of the Holy See is equally certain, and the position that all Catholics must hold is clearly laid down in various allocutions and apostolic letters of Pius IX. Yet the Syllabus of the same Pope contains an explicit condemnation of two errors only:—n. 75. "The Children of the Christian and Catholic Church are divided amongst themselves about the compatibility of the temporal with the spiritual power"; and n. 76. "The abolition of the temporal power of which the Holy See is possessed would contribute in the greatest degree to the liberty and prosperity of the Church." When in the first and second years of the great war there seemed a possibility that it might end in the discomfiture of Masonry, great interest in the Roman Question was aroused throughout a great part of Europe. This revival was due in large part to the failure of the Law of Guarantees to provide for the freedom of the Holy See in its relations with the Catholic Church throughout the world, in case of a war in which Italy would be involved.

These so-called Laws of Guarantees had been passed by the Italian Parliament after the spoliation of the States of the Church under the pretence that they would secure the safety of the Pope and the free functioning of the Holy See in the ecclesiastical affairs of the universal Church. It had indeed been admitted as early as 1871 in the debates on the Law of Guarantee in the Italian Chamber that these provisions would be worthless in case Italy became engaged in a war. The entry of Italy into the recent war afforded ocular demonstration of this truth. For forty years it had been the professed aim of Masonry to bring Italy into alliance with England and France. So when the war broke out the powers of Masonry set to work in these three countries and succeeded in forcing Italy into the war. The agitation in Italy is here retold, as far as it concerned the position of the Papacy. Its beginnings were

marked by an outburst of blasphemous attacks on the Catholic Religion and our Divine Lord. In spite of the Law of Guarantees no stop was put to these. On the contrary protests and replies from the Catholic side were censored, mutilated or suppressed. After the declaration of war the Pope's rights disappeared, letters and telegrams from the Bishops of the world to him were opened or suppressed, the ambassadors accredited by various countries to the Holy See were forced to leave Italy, and the Pope was cut off from communication with a great part of the Catholic world. Italian Masonry, to prevent the Roman Question being raised at the future Peace Conference, secured the insertion of the clause in the London Pact of 26th April, 1915, signed by Italy, England, France and Russia, excluding the Pope from any participation in it, and calumnious accusations were worked up against officials of the Papal Court.

Dr. Hubert Bastgen has set himself the task of collecting all important historical documents bearing upon this question during the course of centuries. He began his work in the spring of 1916 and carried it through with that scientific thoroughness we are accustomed to find in the investigations of German scholars. In undertaking the work and in making his researches, he was faced with many difficulties, arising from the great European war, not the least being his enforced absence from home owing to his having to act as military chaplain in Bulgaria and other theatres of war. In all his difficulties he was able, however, to depend upon the assistance and encouragement of Matthias Erzberger, another example of the many-sided activities of this great Catholic statesman. Thus aided and encouraged he succeeded in getting together a wonderful amount of historical matter. The chief sources from which he derives this important historical material are official publications of the Holy See and the various governments of Europe, parliamentary reports of debates in the various legislatures during the nineteenth century, the comments of the press, both Catholic and anti-Catholic, of all lands; collections of documents and correspondence by distinguished writers or prominent statesmen, etc. These sources are not to be found in any single library. Very little has been overlooked; and it can be supplied without much difficulty from special histories of the incidents. There is no padding in this work. Had Dr. Bastgen so wished he could have increased its size tenfold, without increasing his labour of research. Only the salient passages bearing directly on the Roman Question are excepted, and that with great judgment and fairness. The documents are quoted in their original language as far as possible, but

it was not possible to do so always, partly because the originals were never published, partly because access to them was cut off by the war. Where the originals fail, official translations take their place. After a brief history of the Patrimonium Petri, the text of the chief donations of the eighth and thirteenth century are given. Then follows the story of the first secularization of the States of the Church under Napoleon (1796-1815). After the restoration of the States of the Church by the Congress of Vienna in 1815, there was a lull in the agitation until the time of Pius IX. (1846) when the secret societies of the Carbonari and the Freemasons entered the field full of satanic hatred of the Church and determined to undermine and bring to nought the temporal power of the Papacy in the hope of thereby destroying the authority and influence of Christianity at its very source. With dogged perseverance they pursued their ends—calumnies, agitations, revolutions, assassinations, all the most infamous means were employed, and in the end achieved a certain success. The Pope was despoiled of his States, closed up a prisoner in the Vatican, and the invader was installed in Rome as capital. It is these thirty-five years that Dr. Bastgen treats in great detail. The documents amassed by him fill vol. I. pp. 90-497 and the whole of vol. II. 1-864. Volume III. continues the story down to the present time; Part I. (pp. 1-332) brings it down to the outbreak of the world war in 1914; Part II. (pp. 1-224) narrates the discussions that took place during the war. We have, therefore, in these volumes an authoritative collection of all the important documents bearing upon this intricate question chronologically arranged by a most competent and painstaking scholar. It is a work that appeals not only to the historian and the theologian; diplomatists, politicians and members of Parliament can learn from it more of the inner workings of European politics than from perhaps any other book; and if the clergy and laity of Europe had in recent years been familiar with the lessons to be learned from this collection they would not have been so easily hoodwinked by shibboleths of liberty, civilization and Christianity, for they would already have known that those same catch-cries were constantly upon the lips of the sacrilegious despoilers of the States of the Church. JOHN MACERLEAN.

RACOLAGE ET MILICE (1701-1715). *Le Service Militaire en France à la fin du règne de Louis XIV.* Par Georges Girard, Docteur ès Lettres. Paris: Plon. 1922. 20fr.

Racoler is defined by Littré as meaning "to engage a man for military service whether by goodwill or by a trick;" and M. Girard

has expended much erudition on setting out, with lucid employment of detail, how this operation worked when Louis XIV. was procuring armies for an Imperial policy. Much of the procedure is familiar in its broad lines to whoever has had the misfortune to be mixed up with this hateful job. There were the usual appeals to the spirit of adventure, and the poster played its part. So did alcohol. But under an absolute monarchy, with neither press nor parliament to make protests, horrible oppression went on, like the crimping by which the British navy used to be manned. Government winked or did not wink at actual violence, according to the degree of its need for men.

There are masses of material for a novelist in these pages. But the main conclusion which disengages and is meant to disengage itself from the book is that the only decent way to maintain an army is to make service a civic duty. A voluntary army will always tend to become a less honourable body than one of conscripts, especially when conscription is frankly accepted as a necessity by the State as a whole. Either conscripts or crimped men will make perfectly brave and trustworthy fighting material (so odd an animal is man); but where conscription is the rule the average moral standard will be higher. Of course this was not the argument which determined Louis to abandon increasingly the principle of finding armies by *racolage* and to rely on establishing a militia by State decree. He wanted to have a secure supply of men, and he found the imposition of a general burden less likely to create disaffection and even revolt than the blackguardly tricks of recruiting agents. The main interest of this period in French military history —the type of all European military history—lies in the fact that we are at the transition from a phase in which every regiment was raised by private adventure, almost as a private speculation, to that in which the State acted directly and without intermediary through the whole field of military service.

To Irish readers no book on the armies of Louis XIV. can be without interest. But this one has one startling detail. In January, 1702, the French army consisted of 220,000 men, 35,000 of them cavalry. Among the 185,000 infantry were eight Irish regiments. The eight regiments together only furnished 600 men. What had happened to Sarsfield's 11,000? Fieffé's *Troupes étrangères au service de la France* gives no details that throw any light on this; but it is evident from M. Girard's references to War Office documents in the French archives that detail can be found by one who will search for it. Was the Flight of the Wild Geese checked at the beginning of the 18th century? In what proportions, under what

stimulus, did it afterwards increase? Here are questions to be answered by those who would contribute to the real history of the Irish in the Eighteenth century, which, as Lecky knew and said, is a very different thing from the history of the Irish in Ireland.

STEPHEN GWYNN.

LEADERS OF A FORLORN HOPE: A Study of the Reformation in Scotland. By F. A. Forbes. London: Sands. 1922. 6*s.* net.

THE COUNTER-REFORMATION IN SCOTLAND. By John Hungerford Pollen, S.J. London: Sands. 1921. 3*s.* 6*d.* net.

BOTH of these works may be conveniently bracketed together for the purpose of review as both practically cover the same period, although the point of view and the subjects considered are not quite the same.

Leaders of a Forlorn Hope is an honest endeavour to place before readers the Catholic standpoint in regard to six personages whose history is intimately bound up with a sad page in Scottish history. These six personages are: Cardinal Beton, Mary of Guise, Quintin Kennedy, Abbot of Crossraguel, Ninian Winzet, Schoolmaster, John Hamilton, Archbishop of St. Andrews, and John Leslie, Bishop of Ross. Each of the personages is assigned a chapter, and a straightforward account is presented, well and sufficiently documented. Of particular interest is the life story of Ninian Winzet, who laboured as Abbot of St. James's, Ratisbon, from 1576 till his death in 1592, age 74. One grumble may be permitted, namely, the veiled *suppressio veri* in alluding to the "Scottish Benedictine Monastery at Ratisbon, founded in the twelfth century." Surely there was no need to conceal the fact that this famous monastery had been founded by Irishmen for Irish monks in 1090 (being built by funds supplied from Ireland) and that it was ruled by Irish monks till the year 1516, when it was "grabbed" by the Scotch, who represented that it had been founded by themselves.

Of a different calibre is Father Pollen's *Counter-Reformation in Scotland*, which, though small in compass and, in reality, the expansion of a paper read before the Catholic Students' Guild at Glasgow University, is most valuable for the period it covers. No need to emphasise the scholarly work already accomplished by the Editor of *Papal Negotiations with Queen Mary*; it is to be hoped that this veteran historian will soon publish a book specially devoted to the Scottish Counter-Reformation—1533 to 1653.

Quite delightful is the chapter on the ill-fated Mary Queen of Scots, "whose magnificent courage," as Father Pollen writes, "contrasted with the fanaticism of her opponents, convinced thousands that she had died the death of a martyr." Irish readers will be interested in the letter of Father James Tyrie, S.J., on September 31, 1585, who describes the apostolic labours of Edmund MacGauran, Bishop of Ardagh (1581-1587), who during a few months had administered the sacrament of Confirmation to 10,000 persons in Scotland. W. H. GRATTAN FLOOD.

Literature

LES ENIGMES DE LA DIVINE COMEDIE. By Alexandre Masseron. Paris: Librairie de l'Art Catholique. 1922. 12fr.

Comité Français Catholique pour la célébration du sixième centenaire de la mort de Dante Alighieri, 1321-1921: *BULLETIN DU JUBILE*, Nos. 1-5. Paris: Librairie de l'Art Catholique. 1921-1922. 30fr.

THE *Enigmas of the Divine Comedy* is hardly a book to put into the hands of a beginner; witness this witty but discouraging passage:—

> Some brave spirit may conceive the idea of constructing his own commentary. He need only know all Dante's works; his life; the ideas of his contemporaries about allegory; the Bible; medieval theology and philosophy, especially the *Summa* of St. Thomas of Aquin and his interpretation of the works of Aristotle; geography, astronomy, and some other sciences; Latin literature and that of the Middle Ages; the history of Rome, of the Papacy, of the Empire, of the Italian Communes, and particularly of Florence; of France; in short of the world; and the programme is far from complete.
>
> Most people give it up. As there are commentaries ready-made, better use them. Alas! We come to Scylla after Charybdis. The first commentary one attacks,—any of them taken at random,—seems to dispel by enchantment most of the difficulties; a shaft of light drives back the shadows which enshrouded the *Comedy* at the start. It is a brief illusion. At the second commentary, the problems that one dreamed were solved spring up from their still hot ashes. At the third they grow more involved. At the fourth the darkness thickens. At the twentieth one is in a maze with twenty guiding threads running through it: Which is Ariadne's? . .

But the reader who is already pretty familiar with Dante's text, and has at any time been seized with the wild longing to unravel his hidden sense, will read the book with avidity. What is more, he will soon share the author's "amusement"—a sure and perhaps the only solvent for discouragement—at the ingenuities and contradictory asseverations of Dante authorities. M. Masseron's humorous sense of proportion makes him a companionable guide through the labyrinth of theories, and so orders his statement of difficult problems that the mental gymnastic they involve becomes almost a refreshing exercise. And as he refrains from the dogmatism with which he gently reproaches Dante critics, one can enjoy

his discussions even if, sometimes, one cannot quite follow him to his conclusions. Some of the questions treated are fundamental, *e.g.*, the moral structure of the other-world, or the famous *Veltro* and DXV prophecies. Others are less far-reaching but subtle—and amusing, *e.g.*, the date of Dante's journey, the allegory of the three animals, of the three heavenly ladies, or of the *pie fermo*. Perhaps the most curious chapter is that on Dante's sentences, more objective, it seems, than is often imagined. Altogether the book leaves a comforting sense of perspective. It goes towards realising the aim thus set forth in a quotation from Del Lungo of :—

> picking out with discernment, in disputed matters, what is probable or certain, and eliminating what is pointless and extravagant, . . . guiding the well-disposed, that is, those who are not pedantically enslaved to their own ingenuity, towards a practically unanimous opinion about the allegories and principal senses which might become traditional ; and then, the field being nearly cleared of the brambles and nettles of tedious and wearisome controversies, claiming for commentary its share in the serene and joyous study of luxuriant beauty.

M. Masseron is also one of the chief contributors to the Jubilee Bulletin issued by the French Catholic Centenary Committee. It consists of five handsome numbers, well printed and illustrated, and is a notable piece of what the French call *haute vulgarisation*. Festival records and a bibliography give a faint idea of the stream of Dante discourses and publications that marked the year 1921. Of two articles on Dante's strictly religious and theological side, Mgr. Batiffol's *Catholicisme de Dante* shows him as a *self-taught* theologian, a Thomist surely, even down to minute details, but "was Dante, therefore, a thinker likely to confine himself to a school, any more than as a man of action, he was likely to confine himself to a party ? . . . Dante, an Aristotelian and a Thomist, meant to reconcile, in Paradise at any rate, the two great rival schools of theology of the XIIIth century." P. Mandonnet's *Theologus Dantes* tries to prove the exact opposite, that Dante was a *trained* theologian, having begun his theological studies somewhere about the age of nine. The proof turns on the theory that Dante was a cleric, in minor orders ; otherwise he could hardly have been a good Latinist and have had access to the means of learning. Then his works are symbolically interpreted in this light, and all reality is denied to Beatrice ; thus the very difficult question of the Vita Nuova is made to depend on, and in turn to defend, a somewhat unconvincing hypothesis.

There are two very informative studies of Dante's political theory : Paul Fournier's *La Monarchia de Dante et l'opinion française* and Edouard Jordan's *Dante et Saint Bernard*.

Two out of three articles on Dante's sources deal with Asin's

thesis, "the most original of the superabundant Dante productions of the XXth century." Both express some reserve as to Asin's critical method and precise conclusions. But Masseron agrees with Gabrieli, whom he quotes, that in face of "such a profusion of correspondences, resemblances, precedents or suggestions, coincidences or congruencies, concordances and analogies, points common and identical, between the eschatological material of Moslem literature and of the Divine Comedy, some concrete and many-sided relation between the two literary products seems undeniable." While P. Mandonnet, happier in setting forth facts than hypotheses, describes a channel through which Dante may very well have obtained knowledge of Islam: there was in his day at Santa Maria Novella a notable Dominican missionary returned from Baghdad, the author of a great book, *Contra legem Saracenorum*, in which the alleged vision of Mahomet is described.

Lastly, besides numerous papers on special questions, there are specimens of Dante translations as far back as the sixteenth century, and notes on the interest manifested in him even in the unpoetic eighteenth, and *a fortiori* at the Romantic Period. Two articles show links between Dante's art and those of painting and music; and there is an imposing Jubilee Ode by Claudel. M. R.

MACBETH, KING LEAR and CONTEMPORARY HISTORY. By Lilian Winstanley, M.A. London: Cambridge University Press. 1922. 15*s.* net.

MISS WINSTANLEY went rather far in her last book about Shakespere; she has certainly passed all limits in her present one. Her thesis is roughly this, that Shakespere was a sort of "carrion-crow" of contemporary Protestantism, that his mind was saturated with the murders of Darnley, Coligny, and the massacre of St. Bartholomew—events some thirty or forty years old, but become an obsession to him and his audience since the recent gunpowder plot, that when Shakespere purported to write the plays of *Hamlet*, *Lear* and *Macbeth*, he was all the time (after the manner of Spenser's Faerie Queene) symbolically telling us the story of Darnley, Coligny, or some related event. A sentence or two taken almost at random will show her views—

"The open and obvious insolence with which Goneril and her train treat Lear is exactly like the open and obvious insolence with which, according to Buchanan, Mary treated Darnley . . . Lear, in fact, is subordinated to Oswald and to Edmund, just as Darnley was subordinated to Rizzio and to Bothwell."

"The Darnley murder was repeatedly termed a parricide by contemporaries, and exactly the same term was applied to the Coligny murder. . . . The Huguenots in their intense admiration for Coligny termed him the 'father' of his country and compared France to an ungrateful child destroying its father."

Hence Shakespere wrote Lear when he meant Coligny.

"So we have Lady Macbeth in her sleep, like Charles IX, crying out with horror at the blood and finding it exuding from the pores of her hands."

"Both Bothwell and Macbeth are stated to have broken men for servants."

"The hallucination of the dagger plays an important part in Macbeth.

"It seems to me more than probably that it was suggested by the illustrations of the Darnley murder which were current at the time."

These sentences are typical of the whole book. As will be seen, Lord Darnley's body plays a role not unlike that of King Charles's head in another famous document. Shakespere is represented as deeply versed in everything written by the extreme Protestant propagandists of the time, a sort of Protestant press-bureau, if one may use the anachronism. Armed with this information, he perpetually entertains his patron, James I, by telling him in various subtle disguises (now known as Hamlet, Lear, and Macbeth) that his mother was a murdress and the Guises accessories to the fact.

This farrago of absurdity, for it is hard to describe it in sane language, may have one beneficial result. Miss Winstanley, if she is wrong in everything, is right in calling for some investigation into William Shakespere's religious and political opinions, a matter too commonly avoided by his critics. They are probably avoided, because they do not harmonise with the present-day English tradition. Shakespere was, for instance, beyond question the bitter enemy of Elizabeth at the end of her reign, coming into favour on the accession of James. His religious attitude is not quite so clear. Miss Winstanley, reasonably enough, makes play with the taunt at alleged Jesuit equivocation in the "porter" scene in *Macbeth*. It may be that Shakespere himself was not the real author of this "gag" slipped into a passage of contemptible foulness. But even if he were, it is quite out of harmony with his usual treatment of the Catholic Church.

Miss Winstanley perpetually errs in thinking that England was as Protestant a country at James's accession, as it was at Victoria's. The truth is that the majority of Englishmen scarcely realised that any great change had taken place. So the average Roman of Augustus Cæsar's time would have been wildly astonished were he told that the form of government had been changed, and that royal power was again established.

Englishmen still worshipped in the same churches, often with the same pastors, with no very great change in the ceremonies. Their strongest feeling was probably one of irritation with the unpractical people who were perpetually causing disturbance about theoretical questions as to the religious supremacy of the

king, that seemed to affect their daily lives very little. It may be that Shakespere, certainly not a pietist, was one of these. It may also be that in his sympathies at least he was one of the still numerous Catholic minority, but not in a position to air his views. Miss Winstanley is right in demanding that the question should no longer be avoided or ridiculed, as Dowden ridiculed it. It is probably quite capable of solution, if honestly attempted.

Miss Winstanley, of course, answers it by in effect claiming Shakespere as one of the extreme Protestant minority; this is very unlikely. As for the deductions sought to be drawn from Shakespere's supposed religious leanings, it may be sufficient to point out that the murders of Darnley and Coligny were, at the accepted date of the production of *Macbeth* and *Lear*, as far off in place and in time as the murders of President Carnot and President McKinley at the present day. Take any modern play, say, Lord Dunsany's *If*,—the success of last year's London season. It deals with the attempted assassination of an unpopular ruler, who imposed heavy taxes, was a sentimentalist, like all American Presidents, a man of humble origin, like many French Presidents, offended popular religious feeling, etc. On Miss Winstanley's principles it might easily be shown to be a "symbolic presentation" —Lord Dunsany is a known symbolist—of the deaths of Carnot and McKinley. The thesis of this book, springing from an exaggerated religious enthusiasm, is indeed wildly impossible, but it is valuable for the questions it raises, even though they should be answered in a manner much different from that of Miss Winstanley. A. E. C.

LES QUATRE SAISONS DE LA FORET. Par Jean Nesmy. Paris: Grasset. 1922. 6 fr. 75.

THE forests of France—the lofty, century-old Norman woods, the Breton warrens, the chestnuts of the Cévennes, the firs of the Vosges, the pines of the Landes—stir the author of this charming book to close and often whimsical observation and reflection, to a loving study of their many-sided life, to a flow of lyric description which indeed touches on the exuberant. There is some repetition and some excess of exclamation; but what a mastery of words and imagery, and what a sense of the life of plant and tree, of bird and beast, of the human denizens of the woods! What a sense, above all, of the varying aspects of the forest, changing from season to season and from day to day! One had thought of the woods as silent, lonely, almost lifeless; but on the contrary, in a country where they are conserved, they have their picturesque and characteristic industries: wood-cutting, sawing, sabot-making,

charcoal-burning. These forest workers are birds of passage often, and their life is hard and laborious, yet "what a series of pictures they make, of biblical freshness and simplicity. . . . . What idyllic peace all day beneath the sun which revolves above the little forest village, built of a few huts hidden beneath the foliage, what poetry in these almost half savage lives!"

The sympathetic pages that describe them are perhaps surpassed by the studies of animal life, joyous and abounding in its season, and again sadly precarious when nature and man combine to menace it—when the wind howls and the ground is hard and there are no succulent berries and there *are* hunters or poachers or bird-catchers abroad. But there are strokes of luck even in the cruel winter: "It is a happy day for the fox when with one bite he has broken the back of a leveret or found a dead mole on his path; for the weasel when he devours an egg stolen from the wood-cutter; for the squirrel when he discovers a hazel-tree with some nuts on it, or a little nest of beech-nuts under the leaves; for the badger when he can ravage a rabbit burrow; for the stag when he mows down a corn field; for the boar when he roots up a pit. But happiest of all if, going home fasting, his hunger does not play him false and surprise him into accepting the criminal offer of a deadly enemy!"

The difficulty is to select from so many pages in which the sights, sounds, scents, sensations of the forest are evoked; or its legends and proverbs recalled. It is eminently a book, in spite of some prolixity and a highly specialised vocabulary, to stimulate observation and joy in nature. M. R.

Religion

THOTH, THE HERMES OF EGYPT. A Study of some aspects of Theological Thought in Ancient Egypt. By Patrick Boylan, M.A., Professor of Eastern Languages, University College, Dublin, and Professor of Scripture, St. Patrick's College, Maynooth. London: Milford. 1922. 10*s.* 6*d.* net.

This monograph on the god Thoth is a work of original research, a scientific study of all available sources. It makes known, as far as the progress of modern Egyptology allows, an interesting divinity of the Egyptian pantheon. Thoth is, for the Greeks, *Hermes Trismegistos;* whoever recalls the theological speculations concerned with this name will understand the importance of the work which Professor Boylan has given us.

The author first studies the name "Thoth"—the different ways in which it is written in the hieroglyphic inscriptions, its form in the various Coptic dialects, in Aramaic, in Greek and in Latin,

its pronunciation, the conjectures of scholars on its origin and meaning. He then examines the different aspects of the god, beginning with the legends of Osiris and Horus. Thoth appears in the Osirian legend, but does not seem directly connected with the primitive form of that myth, in which Osiris represents the reproductive powers of nature. The presence and activity of Thoth in the myth are due to secondary factors ; " we must not take the Osirian drama as a starting point in the analysis of Thoth's personality." The author next passes to the legend of Horus ; he moves at ease through the Pyramid Texts, the Ritual of Abydos, the *Book of the Dead*, etc. The learned researches of Chapter III. are summed up in this conclusion : " Thoth does not stand in the ancient groupings of gods in any family relationship to the gods of Heliopolis." Thoth is then considered in his relations with Re, the sun-god (Chap. IV.), and as lunar deity (Chap. V.) : " Thoth is . . . on the one hand, the moon-god himself, and, on the other, the protector of the moon . . . The easiest explanation of the fact of Thoth's double relation to the moon is to assume that we have in his case an ancient identification of the moon-god with a local deity of pronounced individuality." The special functions of Thoth as lunar divinity are explained in Chapter VIII.

The following Chapters are even more interesting. They treat of Thoth as founder of social order and of sacred ritual, as author of the " Divine Words," the all-knowing, the founder of human speech in its various forms, inventor of the fine arts, writing and literature, searcher of hearts, possessor and source of every kind of knowledge. In considering Thoth as creator (Chap. XII.), the learned professor is led to examine how such a role has been attributed to this divinity while Re, Atum, Ptah are also regarded as authors of creation. The luminous explanations of this chapter are of great utility in helping to understand the evolution of the Egyptian religion and to account for the fusion and identification more or less complete of several divinities. What is especially noteworthy here, as elsewhere throughout the whole book, is the documentation, the solid erudition combined with a remarkable clearness of exposition. Dr. Boylan is not only acquainted with all the texts bearing on his subject, but also with whatever in the Babylonian religion throws light on it—for example, the cult of the lunar-god Sin.

The last chapter is entitled : " The Chief Temples and Shrines of Thoth." This chapter is, in twenty-six pages, the history in chronological order of the cult of Thoth ; it is based on a number of facts carefully examined and grouped.

This work will render precious services; it throws light not only on a very interesting aspect of the theology of the ancient Egyptians, but is indispensable to all engaged in the comparative study of religions. Often the Panbabylonians and other theorists are too prone to quit the domain of facts, losing themselves in conjectural interpretations and constructing systems that have no firm foundation. It is a pleasure, therefore, to possess a monograph like this work of Dr. Boylan, which is solidly based on texts correctly interpreted and which elucidates an important subject by a really methodical and scientific study.

Let us add a word of praise for the clearness and elegance of the typographical execution. The hieroglyphic characters, which are pretty often introduced into the body of the text and the notes, do not interfere with the easy reading of the whole; they are an ornament for the text and a relief for the eyes.

ALBERT CONDAMIN.

A GENERAL INTRODUCTION TO THE BIBLE. By Rt. Rev. Chas. P. Grannan, D.D., Ph.D., Consulter to the Pontifical Commission. London and St. Louis: B. Herder. 1921. Four volumes. 32*s.*

LET us say at once that this new Catholic introduction to the study of Sacred Scripture deserves a welcome from all those interested in the subject. It is true that, before its appearance, we already possessed, besides many works of the kind in Latin, French, and German, several good introductions in English. Two of these must be credited to Ireland—Dr. Dixon's voluminous and able treatise and Dr. McDevitt's brief handbook. The latter, however, is already thirty years old, while the former first appeared in 1852. Canon W. Barry's *The Tradition of Scripture* (1906) and Father Hugh Pope's *Catholic Students' Aids to the Bible* (1913-8) deal with only some of the departments of General Introduction and that very briefly. In America general introductions have been given us by Rev. A. E. Breen (1897) and Rev. F. Gigot (1900, with several more recent editions). The latter is a standard work and is not superseded by Mgr. Grannan's, as it deals with a number of topics not touched upon in the new Introduction—*e.g.*, the Apocrypha and the History of Biblical Interpretation. It has also the advantage of being in a single volume.

But Mgr. Grannan's work has valuable features or, rather, qualities of its own which will commend it strongly to teachers and still more to learners.

With the two exceptions mentioned above, and we think the

history of interpretation has been rightly omitted, the new work covers the whole ground of General Introduction—history of the original languages, history of the original texts and of the ancient versions, textual criticism, higher criticism, inspiration, the Canon, hermeneutics.

Its outstanding quality, we venture to say, is *precision*. Everything is orderly, clear, explicit, accurate. Every term is defined, every subject is logically divided and sub-divided, every important statement is carefully proved. There are no loose statements, no digressions, no vagueness. A great merit, this, assuredly, in a work intended for beginners.

In the next place the style of the book is unpretentious, plain, and familiar. There is no needless technicality, no affectation of recondite erudition. Indeed the writer is occasionally unconventional and homely to a degree. He is not afraid of familiar expressions such as "heads I win, tails you lose," or (a piece of advice to tyros) "Fear not, budge not, crawl not, climb not down, till you 'Be sure it's Davy Crockett and that his gun is loaded,'" or even *beati qui non expectant quia non disappointabuntur*. His manner is brisk and vigorous. Here are two lively examples :—

> The inside of a physical object is examined by the scientists: that is their speciality. They peer into it; they Kodak it; they X-ray it; they discuss it; they wrangle over it; they theorize about it in learned language and settle it as best they can. And, if they cannot settle it, then the theories follow one another in quick succession to the scrap-heap and their peculiar language goes along with them.

Again, criticising a principle of the critics :—

> As, in such matters, there may be countless and infinitesimally small degrees of difference in language and style, we ask: What if they differ? If they differ in the slightest degree, what then? How little *may* they differ and how much *must* they differ, in order to secure reliable conclusions? Again we ask: How little is little? How little is too little? How little is much? How much is much? How much is too much? And who shall determine the muchness of the much in the difference of style and language.

Let it not be thought, from these examples, that the style lacks dignity: it merely lacks "the dignity of dulness."

As might be expected, owing to the scope and purpose of the book, the author insists little on unsolved problems and on questions controverted among Catholics. However, the delicate question of the relations between the Bible and history is admirably dealt with, though the author refrains, doubtless for prudential reasons, from illustrating his points by examples.

In vol. II the subject of higher criticism receives much more adequate treatment than is usual in Catholic treatises. The author

insists very happily on the great potential value of the principles and methods of higher criticism rightly used, but we think he scarcely does justice to the results actually acquired.

Vol. IV is wholly devoted to Hermeneutics. Here the exposition of the purely rational principles of interpretation appears to us decidedly scanty. On the other hand the Catholic principles are expounded in a particularly able and lucid manner and the refutation of the rationalistic and of the Protestant principles is trenchant and telling.

The author is conservative, but not timidly so. He has no words of condemnation for any views held by Catholics and not condemned by the Church. But his purpose is exposition, not investigation. He puts forward no new theories of his own: he claims no originality. The real merits of his work are, as we have stated, precisely those best fitted to the subject on which he has undertaken to write.

The publishers, too, must have their meed of praise. The volumes are delightfully light and neat—a pleasure to handle. The printing is all that could be desired. But there may well be some who will consider thirty-two shillings for 829 pages all told, rather a heavy price. S. J. B.

I. *LE CHRIST VIE DE L'AME. Conférences Spirituelles.* Par D. Columba Marmion, Abbé de Maredsous.
LE CHRIST DANS SES MYSTERES. Du même auteur. Paris: Desclée, de Brouwer & C^ie^. 9fr. each.

II. *L'EVANGILE DE NOTRE-SEIGNEUR JESUS-CHRIST, LE FILS DE DIEU.* Par Dom Paul Delatte, Abbé de Solesmes. Tours: Mame. 1922. 30fr.

A KNOWLEDGE of scientific theology is not necessary for the perfection of Christian life. The message of the Gospel may become effective in the souls of the "little ones" to-day as in the days when the Master Himself was its exponent. And to-day, as in the days of A Kempis, a man may discourse learnedly of the Trinity without the dispositions of soul which would make him pleasing to the Trinity. But granted the pre-required dispositions, theological knowledge, if it does not intensify devotion, will at least supply a wider range of motives to stimulate it. It may be added that there are types of mind to which it makes special appeal, just as there are minds—like Pasteur's—in which a more intimate knowledge of physical nature deepens the reverence for God.

Souls thus constituted will find in Abbot Marmion's volumes valuable text-books of *théologie affective*. They expound with

singular lucidity the body of sacred doctrine which concerns the person of the Redeemer, His place in the divine scheme for the salvation of men, and the peculiar relations with Him into which those who are "given Him out of the world" enter. St. Paul's teaching on these subjects is the source upon which the author mainly draws. The difficulties which St. Peter recognised in the writings of his fellow-apostle will not seriously embarrass those who take guidance from Abbot Marmion. He has the gift of putting into simple language the profound thought embodied in the pregnant Pauline periods. His own added comments are always illuminating and instructive.

Of special value is his exposition of the divine scheme for the sanctification of man's soul in and through Christ. In the Incarnation human nature was allied with the divine in person—one of the Persons of the Trinity, the Son, bestowed his personality on a human being who was thus exalted in worth and dignity to an equality with God. In virtue of this incomprehensible union it became possible for every creature who shared the nature thus exalted to enter into the relation of sonship to God. Not the natural sonship, which was the exclusive privilege of Christ, but a genuine sonship by adoption, open to every one who shared the created nature which the Word had made His own. The fundamental condition for attaining this sonship is the acceptance, in firm faith, of Christ for what He is and claims to be: "Quotquot autem receperunt eum dedit eis potestatem filios Dei fieri, his qui credunt in nomine ejus." But this sonship with God, through brotherhood with Christ, means much more than a title or place of honour; it involves a deliverance from sin and a participation in the graces with which human nature was dowered in Christ, in virtue of its union in Him with a Divine Person: "Of His fullness we all have received." The details and the implications of this marvellous Divine economy in their bearing upon Christian life are set forth in Abbot Marmion's volume with a lucidity and a persuasiveness which cannot fail to impress the believing soul. The work is now accessible in English under the title *Christ the Life of the Soul* (Sands, 12*s.* 6*d.*), a translation from the fifteenth French edition, which preserves to the full the charm and force of the original.

In his study *Le Christ dans ses Mystères* Abbot Marmion puts before us the divine design as worked out in detail in the incidents of Christ's life commemorated in the principal Christian festivals, their significance illustrated and enforced by the prayers and rites of the liturgy. The work continues worthily the teaching of that to which it is a sequel.

II. Like the work of the Abbot of Maredsous the two volumes of Abbot Delatte reproduce a series of conferences addressed to the younger members of a Benedictine Community. The plan is, however, somewhat different. There is no exposition of recondite points of theological teaching, no effort to sound the remoter depths which the flash of inspiration lit up for the inspired mind. Instead, we have the gospel texts which record the words and acts of Christ accompanied by an explanation which makes easily intelligible their exact meaning. The work is, in fact, a commentary on the gospels forming an ordered narrative which includes all the recorded incidents of Christ's advent and stay on earth. Pious reflections are sparingly suggested. The method will commend itself to many souls. The words of Scripture themselves, when their meaning is fully apprehended, are to these the most effective form in which the divine message can be conveyed. G. P.

Shorter Notices

THE CATHOLIC STUDENT. By Rev. Michael Hickey, D.D., D.Ph. Dublin: Browne & Nolan. 1920. 5*s*.

THE CLERICAL STUDENT. By the same. Dublin: The Kenny Press. 1921. 5*s*.

Curiously enough, modern Ireland has made but a small contribution to Catholic ascetical literature. Our national self-esteem may, perhaps, be soothed by a saying of Blessed Oliver Plunket, quoted by Dr. Hickey: "In Our Lord's grammar the *e* was long in *facere* and short in *docere*." Irish Catholics have kept the faith and may be excused for not having written overmuch about it. But the excuse is somewhat lame, and we are glad to see Dr. Hickey busy as a writer.

The two volumes which he has issued are the outcome of his work in Clonliffe and among the students of University College. Both exhibit the same essential qualities: solid doctrine, an unusual command of Scriptural quotation, sympathy with the spiritual needs of young students, and an unaffected earnestness. Neither volume makes light reading, and so much the better. Dr. Hickey's aim is to instruct, crowding much matter into a few pages. Those who turn to him for instruction should read him as he would wish to be read—a few pages at a time.

Of the two volumes, *The Catholic Student* rightly is more dogmatic in tone. The claims of the Church, the relations between faith and science, our social duties, the doctrine of sin and justification, the inspiration of Scripture, devotion to the Sacred Heart of Our Lady: these are the principal subjects treated. We are especially glad to read what Dr. Hickey has to say on the Society of St. Vincent de Paul. No priest in Dublin has done better work for the Conferences, none can speak with more authority on the blessing such work will bring to student-members. *The Clerical Student* deals mainly with the duties and privileges of priesthood, the second half of the book being a sort of running commentary on some of the Psalms and portions of St. John. We feel sure that Dr. Hickey's readers will find in these pages much wise and kindly advice, and that they will join with us in the Gaelic prayer: *Bail ó Dhia ar an obair!* A. G.

THE SUMMA THEOLOGICA OF ST. THOMAS AQUINAS. Literally translated by Fathers of the English Dominican Province. Part II. (Second Part), Qq. LXXX-CXL, CLXXI- CLXXXIX; Part III (Supplement), Qq. XXXIV-LXVIII. London: Burns, Oates & Washbourne. 1922. 4 vols. 12*s.* net each.

TWELVE years have gone by since the English Dominican Fathers undertook the task of bringing out a translation of the whole *Summa*. Now that only two or three more volumes are required to complete their great undertaking, the public may be glad to learn what exactly has been accomplished. According to the most recent announcement of the publishers, this English *Summa* will be complete in twenty-one volumes: five for the *Prima*, three for the *Prima Secundae*, six for the *Secunda Secundae*, three for the incomplete Third Part, and four for the Supplement. Of these all are now ready, save two volumes of the Supplement. Those who own copies of the first three volumes, published before the war, will notice that the original plan of publication has been somewhat altered. In the earlier plan the *Prima* was to be complete in three volumes, and these volumes were to cost six shillings each. We have now, in the revised edition of these volumes, five volumes at twelve shillings each, and the remaining volumes are priced at either nine or twelve shillings. Let no man blame the Fathers, or their publishers, for this change. It is no mean achievement to have brought so large an undertaking to a successful close, and few publications are better worth the price to be paid.

In the original preface we read: "Is it worth while, can it be a success, to translate St. Thomas into English? Thinking that it is worth while, that it can and will be a success, the Editor and Translators transmit their labours to the approval which the future alone can provide." The large number of English-speaking Catholic students who are anxious to read St. Thomas, but who find his Latin, admirably clear though it is, an obstacle to their studies, will, we are sure, give the Translators all the approval they can desire. For the Dominican version is all that a good, literal translation should be, whilst printing and binding leave nothing to be desired. May this appearance of an English St. Thomas—coinciding as it does with the return of the Dominican Fathers to Oxford—herald a general revival of Thomistic studies in England.

A. G.

L'EGLISE ET LE PROBLÈME ÉCONOMIQUE. Par R. P. Coulet.

L'EGLISE ET LE PROBLÈME SOCIAL. Du même Auteur. Paris: Action Populaire. 1921. 5 fr. et 3.25 fr.

IN these two series of *Conférences*, given at Bordeaux in 1920-1921, Père Coulet lays down with great clearness the moral laws which govern the factors of the modern social problem—capital, wages, production industrial and agrarian, exchange, consumption, etc. The courage with which the eloquent *Conférencier* castigates abuses on the part of both labour and capital is not less remarkable than the sympathy with which he vindicates the rights of the oppressed.

All social miseries, he points out, come from neglect in individuals of the moral law and from the ostracism under which is placed the Church appointed by God to teach that law. His conception of modern society, unchanged in its general outline, but so transfused by the Christian spirit as to appear a veritable *Civitas Dei* is doubtless very attractive and dazzling, but leaves the social student quite unsatisfied. After all it is quite plain that in almost any form of society, as under almost any form of government, the perfect observance of God's law would abolish all grounds of reasonable discontent. We must, however, take men as we find them. There exist at present certain relations among men and certain laws, customs and economic conditions which lead with moral inevitableness to excessively great misery. The efforts of

social reformers should be directed to improve this state of affairs, so that the moral law may be no longer too difficult of fulfilment. How precisely such improvements can be effected is the big question for Christian sociologists. This question Père Coulet provokes in the mind of the reader, but does not attempt to solve. L. McK.

LA QUESTION SOCIALE. Par A. Michel. Paris: Beauchesne. 1921. 7 fr.

M. Michel seeks to define in this book Social Justice and to differentiate its sphere from the sphere of Charity. He examines the proper role of the State in the matter of justice and the rights of the State in the matter of charity. As guardian of public order the State evidently should favour and direct, among its citizens, the practice of these two social virtues. An attempt is made to define precisely in what measure the State can and ought to do this. The author bases his teaching on St. Thomas and the Pontifical Letters of Leo XIII.

In an interesting appendix M. Michel examines and approves of the system which M. Crétinon has suggested as a solution of the vexed problem of the Family Wage. The system is briefly this: all workers, whether they have families or not, receive the same wage (for the same work) fixed by a mixed committee of workers and employers; those workers who have families receive in addition a sum according to the number of their children. This super-salary comes from an employers' fund, to which the employers of the district contribute according to the number of their employés. L. McK.

LA CRISE DU SOCIALISME MONDIAL. Par Paul Louis. Paris: Alcan. 1921. 8 fr.

After writing innumerable books on Socialism and on the social effects of the war, M. Louis in this book gives us a general history of the development of Socialism, and especially of the break-up of the Second International and the formation of the Third. He is quite content with this development, and foresees the regeneration of human society being effected by this last and most perfect form of Socialism. He is a Marxist *pur sang* and puts before us, with French lucidity and clearness of outline, Lenin's plans and hopes. This accurately and perfectly adjusted machine, which excites the admiration of M. Louis, has not succeeded in doing what he foretells it must effect, the renewal of Russian society; it has got hopelessly out of gear, and some of its essential parts have had to be scrapped. Even Lenin had a shrewder knowledge than M. Louis of the resisting power which is possessed by human nature, the raw material to be transformed. L. McK.

Books also received:

Benoit, Pierre ..	La Chaussée des Géants. (Albin Michel, 6 fr. 75).
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Boudou, Adrien ..	Le Saint-Siège et la Russie. Leurs relations diplomatiques, 1814-1847. (Plon, 20 fr.).
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Carlyle, A. J. ..	History of Mediæval Political Theory in the West. Vol. IV. (Blackwood, 30*s.*).
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Fabre-Luce, Alfred ..	Essai sur les relations franco-britanniques depuis la signature de la paix. (Grasset, 7 fr. 50).

Books also received—*continued.*

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